

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

A Journal of Religion

The Patriotism of Hatred

By Lloyd C. Douglas

THE GENIUS OF THE QUAKERS

By Elbert Russell

EDITORIALS:

More About Modern Sex Morality
The Tragedy of the Illiterate Layman

Fifteen Cents a Copy—Oct. 25, 1923—Four Dollars a Year

OCT 26 1923

WANTED—50,000 Names

This is Laymen's Year

PRACTICALLY the entire leadership of the ministry, representing all the Christian denominations of America, now subscribes to The Christian Century. Our list also includes a large proportion of the lay leadership. For the present season, our circulation department has set for itself the task of covering the entire body of thoughtful business and professional folk in all the churches. We invite the cooperation of our present readers in this good work. Thousands of Christian men and women long for just such an interpreter of religion and of social progress as you, our present readers, are enjoying each week.

Remember that The Christian Century is no class paper—unless you think of leadership as a class. It is leaders in church and community, whether laymen or ministers or thoughtful women, whether inside the church or outside, for whom The Christian Century is produced. We do not solicit subscriptions from among thoughtless or superficial church folk—such persons would not long remain subscribers to a periodical that deals as earnestly and candidly with moral and religious issues as does this journal of religion. And besides, the presence on its subscription list of readers of this dependent type of mind would inevitably hamper its editorial policy. If our editors had to consider the reader whose faith is likely to be injured by a frank facing of the issues that today try the hearts of all of us, if they felt under constraint to tone down their utterances lest the "weak brother" be offended, we should produce a paper quite unlike The Christian Century. For such minds plenty of other religious matter is available.

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nef Thoughtful Laymen!

Year The Christian Century

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THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY is a free interpreter of essential Christianity. It is published not for any single denomination alone but for the Christian world. It strives definitely to occupy a catholic point of view and its readers are in all communions

EDITORIAL

Lloyd George Sees Democracy in Peril

THAT the democratic institutions of the world are now in peril is one of the strong notes being sounded by David Lloyd George, former premier of the British empire, during his tour of the United States. While during the war the issue was defined as democracy against autocracy, with democracy winning, since the war events have been moving rapidly in the other direction. Recent changes in Italy, Spain and Bulgaria indicate that once more the strong man is coming into power. In Germany there is a recrudescence of monarchical sentiment. It is for this reason that Lloyd George pleads for a better understanding and a larger cooperation between the two great English speaking nations of the world. The growing disorder in Europe resulting from the failure to settle outstanding economic questions gives the strong man his power. The impression made by Lloyd George upon America has been very favorable. With a vitality which is little short of miraculous in one who has borne such burdens in recent years, the great war premier is swinging round the circle in America making a number of speeches every day. In Chicago his stay of two days was marked by the concourse of multitudes of people and a reception such as would probably be given to no other foreign visitor. A note sounded in the speeches which has been a wholesome one was a protest against the mood of America "to forget the war." To Lloyd George that seems a betrayal of fallen comrades, and the rejection of a great cause after it came to victory. While not professing himself to be a pacifist, the effect of his speeches is to emphasize in the American mind the horror of war and to indicate that the world trembles on the brink of another outbreak. Dr. Aked pointed out recently the possibility of an alliance of Germany, Russia and Eng-

land against France. Of this Lloyd George says nothing, of course, but from all indications his present mood with regard to European affairs in general is anything but cheerful.

Protestants in Rome and Catholics in Cleveland

TWO newspaper items which come simultaneously to our attention furnish an instructive contrast. The first is an announcement, which seems to be unofficial and may not be altogether authentic since it comes relayed by way of Madrid, that the Italian government has warned the Methodists in Rome that it will not tolerate the existence of their conspicuous Protestant school whose commanding site upon one of the hills of the ancient city is an affront to the Catholic people of Rome and an insult to the Holy Father. Catholicism, we are informed, is the religion of a majority of the population and Protestantism must confine itself to humble locations. Whether or not this is the definite pronouncement of the government, it represents with entire accuracy the attitude of the Catholic church, which has long been raging at the insolence and effrontery of these Methodists who refuse to confine their operations to the side streets. The other item comes from Cleveland, Ohio, where a movement is on foot to raise three million dollars for a Jesuit university. The appeal is to all citizens regardless of creed, and there will doubtless be generous response from many non-Catholic citizens who consider that the Jesuit control is merely an incidental feature. "The money is to be used"—we quote an editorial in a Cleveland daily—"in starting the great building project that is to provide the new university, successor of St. Ignatius college, with a spacious and beautiful home on the eastern heights, where thousands of youths not now provided for in that important respect

may pursue college studies in all the liberal arts and sciences under auspices and within environments approaching the ideal." That, as we understand it, is what the Methodists are trying to do in Rome—and on the heights, too. The long story of Catholic failure in Italy ought to entitle some other group to a right to see what it can do. The history of Catholicism in Rome, much of which it ought to be glad to let the world forget, gives it no equitable claim to a monopoly. Protestant prospective donors in Cleveland ought to have a full knowledge of the attitude of the Catholic church toward Protestant institutions. But it is a little hard to have satisfactory reciprocal relations with an organization which claims equal rights where it is in a minority and exclusive rights wherever it has the power to enforce them.

The Need of the Gospel in China

A CHINESE general declares that "nothing but the gospel of Jesus Christ can save China," and an eminent Confucianist was recently quoted as saying that "only the Christian gospel has the moral power which China needs." Both of these statements we believe to be profoundly true, and it is because of their truth that we are deeply interested in all efforts to Christianize China. But we wonder just what these prominent Chinese mean by their words. They are comforting to our Christian consciousness and serve to stimulate our missionary zeal, as they should; but we are questioning whether the phrases have the same meaning to them that they have to the average American Christian. Does the eminent Confucianist mean to say that China's supreme need is the Christian gospel as expressed by any or all of the American denominations, or that the establishment of large numbers of denominational churches throughout China is essential to the moral redemption of China? It seems scarcely likely. It might help us to a realization of the elements of power in our religion if we could come to an understanding as to what features of it appeal to these thoughtful and appreciative orientals as constituting the factors for which they feel a need.

Who Should Enforce the Law?

THE conference on law enforcement held in Washington recently seemed to be well agreed that the prohibition laws of the United States are being grossly violated. There was no equally clear conviction as to the method for enforcing the law. Various public officials tended to "pass the buck." Governor Pinchot wants the President of the United States to enforce the law. But the magazines have been saying lately that we are killing our Presidents with overwork. A former governor made a retort to Governor Pinchot. He thinks the governor should call out the militia, if necessary, in order to put down "the whiskey rebellion." Other speakers laid the responsibility at the door of the ordinary citizen, who, it is claimed, has not cooperated as he should with the officers of the law. With the legal organization of the law enforcement machinery, the churches have not so

much to do, but they are willing to cooperate in any plan, whether national, state or local. The church rejoices equally in the law enforcement activities of Mayor Dever, in that of Governor Pinchot and that of President Coolidge. Perhaps the chief service which the local churches can render is in educating their own membership with regard to the benefits already secured by national prohibition.

The Rationalism of Orthodoxy

WE DO not, of course, mean that all orthodoxy is rationalistic, but that some orthodoxy is. A recent writer of somewhat ultra-orthodox type, urging the necessity of maintaining sound doctrine in the pulpits and seminaries of his denomination, enumerates as the three essentials of sound and wholesome religion "theology, philosophy of life, and conduct; and of these theology is the most important, because the others are the outgrowth of it." It is no wonder that Christianity has been so slow in winning the world or in gaining a more than nominal allegiance from even that part of the world which is willing to allow itself to be called Christian, if this represents the understanding that Christian teachers have of their problem and the method by which it is to be solved. First give people a correct theology, and out of that will automatically issue an adequate philosophy of life and satisfactory conduct. Such a system is charmingly simple, as every thoroughly rationalistic scheme is, but it is sadly at variance with the known facts of human nature. Conduct springs from a great variety of complex, concrete and colorful impulses and motives, partly instinctive and impulsive, largely social, always more or less obscure, never completely rationalized and only approximately so in the most cultured individuals of the most advanced groups. Theology becomes a factor in so far as it presents desirable and attainable objectives which impress the imagination vividly enough to furnish motives for action. We are strongly in favor of all possible theological correctness in the interest of intellectual clarity and the attainment of a permanently tenable world-view, but no possible correctness of theology is a guarantee of proper conduct. Fortunately, the religion and conduct of a great many people are much better than their theology. If it were not so, the Dark Ages would have been much darker than they were. The world may yet be saved by the foolishness of preaching, if it is warm and vital enough and is backed by the right kind of personality, but it can never be saved by either the foolishness or the wisdom of theology.

Free Discussion Does Not Make Atheists

THE idea that a free discussion of moot questions will produce atheists is itself a form of unbelief. The effort of the fundamentalists to restrict discussion in Christian colleges to one side of certain moot questions of science and history is a confession of intellectual incompetency. The colleges that have permitted and encouraged free discussion have not been barren of spiritual fruits, but rather the contrary. A good example is to

be found in Oberlin college, which was founded by men of the evangelical type. The method at Oberlin has been to match men of widely varying convictions and let the student body be the umpires. As early as 1843, premillennialism was debated at the college and met its Waterloo in frank and open discussion. At Oberlin the equality of races was debated before a single negro had sought admission at the college. The debates over evolution were finished a long time ago, for no one now dares to appear at Oberlin to present carpenter theories of creation. While all of this has been going on, what of the spiritual influence of the college? The institution has sent into the active ministry 1,203 graduates, besides many other students not receiving degrees. On the mission fields of the world today, in the service of several denominations, are 272 men and women. More than two hundred Oberlin men and women have gone into the service of the Christian associations. The practice of free research in matters touching religion has been found to be entirely compatible with an earnest religious life.

Sex Morality and the New Republic

SENSITIVE to the criticism which Mr. Clement Wood's article on Modern Sex Morality evoked, the editor of the New Republic feels obligated to make some explanation regarding that curious and capricious comment upon present social conditions, with its frank advocacy of trial marriage, its insistence that irregular sexual relations are the expected and negligible features of ordinary society, and its contention that continence is unnatural and harmful. Mr. Croly finds it expedient to disavow the defence of his contributor, and to deal with him as a callow youth who is talking of things of which he has no adequate knowledge. His treatment of his theme, the editor discovers on reflection, was marked by a cocksureness which showed no sufficient comprehension of its intricacies, and was therefore dry, pert and oracular.

It is diverting to observe so embarrassed and tortuous an attempt at evasion of a perfectly clear responsibility. No editor is obligated to exclude from his columns all material with which he does not agree. To do this would be likely to reduce the tone of any journal to the commonplace. But the appearance of an article like that of Mr. Wood, setting at defiance all the customary usages of respectable society, without any word of interpretation by the editor, was sufficient ground for the supposition that it had at least a large measure of editorial endorsement. This endorsement Mr. Croly now undertakes to reduce to the minimum by the suggestion that the entire subject demands ventilation, and that "the conventions of sexual morality" now prevailing ought to be challenged in the interest of a more scientific and assured form of social behavior.

In other words, the editor of the New Republic intimates that he would not go the length of his contributor in advocating a wholly new creed of community conduct, embracing, as we pointed out in our issue of October 4,

the abolition of the single standard of morals for men and women as Victorian and impossible; the unquestioned right of a woman to dispose of her body as she will, either as wife, mistress or prostitute; the recognition of the fact that man's relationships, whether called monogamous or polygamous, have long been largely promiscuous; that illicit sexual relations become unethical only when the woman is made the victim of unjust financial mastery; that the wise modern woman prefers part of a first-rate man to all of a second-rater; that an increasing number of women insist upon a widening sex experience, and that during married life transient relationships will always be provided for as answering specialized needs, and as pragmatic education in living.

It would seem quite clear that an editor will either approve or disapprove such sentiments expressed by a contributor who is given a place of prominence in his columns. Mr. Croly, on reflection, cannot give his approval to the article because of its cocksure tone, but proceeds to condone the act of giving it publicity on the ground that many of the conditions of modern sex life are indescribably ugly and clearly wrong; that the subject of sexual morality is the sourest and most stagnant lump of unleavened dough which modern civilization has to digest; and that there is no way of leavening it which does not permit or demand the publication of opinions which challenge the ordinary conventions. This is all very excellent. But no man is more aware than the editor of the New Republic that the very people who are doing most to challenge and reconstruct the usages of society in the interest of a better civilization are not at all the young, pert and cocksure protagonists of the free love, trial marriage and "widening sex experience" type. They are the parents, teachers, editors, ministers of the gospel, social workers, and open minded students of social problems in all the areas of the modern community.

Who are the people who have worked most diligently to break down the walls of ignorance and prudery which have hedged in the sex problem from the knowledge of parents and youth alike? Who are the ones who have labored tirelessly to widen the field of sex information, and thus safeguard young people of both sexes from the mistakes and tragedies which result from lack of teaching upon these themes? Who have done most to lift the entire subject of sex physiology and experience from the morbid and furtive region of curbed curiosity, sly allusion and secretive experiment to the frank and unashamed recognition of its necessary and dignified character? It is none other than these self-respecting and wholesome people who have been at pains to learn all the truth and use it in the interest of real social advance.

This is one of the serious and misleading assumptions of the editor of the New Republic. He affirms that, without agreeing with the crude sociology of his contributor, he believes that emancipation from the "prevailing conventions of sexual morality" is the duty of the hour, and to this task he is willing to devote himself in spite of public prejudice. He asserts that the people who are attempting to maintain unimpaired the social standards which are recognized in respectable groups are afraid of the sex in-

instinct, and fearful that unless society puts itself against any modification of the usual habits associated with propriety, the family will disintegrate, and young people conduct themselves with alarming and disastrous freedom. If he will acquaint himself with the activities of the great social, moral and religious agencies he will be reassured as to the courage and frankness with which the entire question of sex morals is being discussed by a large portion of the people whom one likes to regard as normal American citizens. That there are men and women of uninformed and prudish sort, and these in great numbers, no one questions. But these are no more the indices of the growing life of the republic than are the over-sexed, capricious or perverted types who imagine themselves apostles of a new and emancipated age.

But we have a more serious question to ask of the editor of the New Republic. We believe that he does himself less than justice in the ambiguous manner in which he has treated this whole discussion. He insists that he does not follow Mr. Wood in his sociological vagaries, but that he thinks nevertheless that the matter should be discussed with openness and candor. Then he proceeds to define his own position, and in the effort he succeeds only in roiling the waters. We are not concerned either to approve or censure his views, but we should like to be able to discover what they are. He says that there is an increasing disposition among people who are neither frivolous nor sensual to enter without any sense of guilt into irregular sexual relationships. Does he mean that the contacts of modern business and social life bring men and women into relations that would have been regarded as irregular in an age of "more rigid conventions of sexual morality?" If so, he is reciting a mere commonplace. If however he means that irregular sexual relationships in the sense which the words usually convey are neither frivolous nor sensual, it would be well that he should be understood. When he declares that the problem finally boils down to that of enabling the intimate relationships between men and women to take place in a moral atmosphere, one wonders whether he is talking about the larger friendships which may well be formed between men and women, with full awareness of all the meaning which may be imparted to such relationships, and within the range of those proprieties which have grown up at great cost in self-respecting circles, or whether he is implying that these "intimate relationships" are of another sort, for which men and women of insight and character have coined other and less pleasing names? We think that such paragraphs are far from clear, and not far from disingenuous.

Mr. Croly thinks that the increase in knowledge which is to be the foundation of a more substantial ethic can hardly take place unless good people cease to fear a wider range of experimentation in sexual behavior. If this is merely a plea for more intelligent handling of the subject by those who have to do with the social order, both young and old, then of course it is mere platitude. If it even involves the view that "success in the large adventure of living will finally depend upon the ability of men and women to combine candor, purity and poise of mind with fulness of sexual experience," and is but the reiteration of numberless statements made regarding the possibility of attaining the most ample values of life only through

marriage and parenthood, then it is a very indifferent contribution to the happiness of the race, and hardly open to debate. But if it means what even the most unpracticed reader would be expected to understand from the lines, then one has the right to know whether this is the type of moral philosophy which a journal of the supposed character of the New Republic is interpreting as its own.

We wish to affirm once more with emphasis that the entire subject of sex morality is rightly under scrutiny, and is being discussed with value from many angles. This is all to the good. The mere conventions of a formal and prudish age are being put to the test of value. Most of them will endure that test, for whatever may be the formality and prudishness of past generations, they paid the price of a growing devotion to personality, dignity, chastity and the meaning of the finest assets which have come to be associated with the family and with childhood. In some regards that older morality was harsh and unchristian. It kept people in ignorance of the facts of life which it is the right of every individual to know. It put a tragic and permanent stigma upon women whose affections had betrayed them into unwedded motherhood, without the wish to sin. It put a similar brand upon the children of unmarried women, without regard to the circumstances of their birth. It regarded the human body with suspicion and shame, and kept it hidden from view with all manner of disfiguring garments. But these and other limitations of the older morality were but the small dust of the balance beside the fine and high integrities which it built up in the soul of the race. The family was the crowning achievement of that Christian morality, and the family is not going to be given up. With all its inadequacies and misadventures, the family is the most precious of human institutions. It is here to remain. The race is very young and crude as yet. It falls easily into mistakes, particularly in days of sagging morale such as inevitably follow war. But it is in no mood to exchange the great lessons of experience for the erratic and erotic suggestions of novices, who are quite willing to experiment with the sanctities of other people's homes, but want no impairment of the reputation of their own family inheritance.

We cherish no easy and optimistic views regarding the present tendencies in some levels of the social life. The daily press is full of disquieting disclosures regarding the state of morals in many communities. The divorce evil is alarming in its proportions. The conditions prevailing among certain sorts of young people are not reassuring. The deliberate campaign to break down the sanctions laboriously built up around the home through the generations is not without very sinister aspects. Yet they are not the true indices of the great common life that goes on for the most part quietly and undisturbed below the froth and foam of surface immoralities. We shall not advocate any blindness to the deep-going evils of the age. But those who have most to do with the frivolities and the misadventures of the time believe all the more firmly in the soundness of public sentiment regarding the fine sanctities of human life, in its individual and domestic expression, and are confident that the race is in no mood to throw away its birthright of tested Christian virtues for the mess of pottage offered in the name of the new sex morality.

The Tragedy of the Illiterate Layman

THE MOST concrete failure of the Christian church is at the point of the education of the layman. The minister more and more is coming to be a man who has a good knowledge of the long tale of the human adventure in the world, a really significant view of the story of the life of the Christian church, a good working knowledge of the processes and conclusions of Biblical scholarship, a sympathetic apprehension in respect of the great social and economic movements which are making their impact felt in the life of the world, and a passion for that true family life of the nations which shall solve our international problems. Such young men are being turned out in large numbers by the commanding theological seminaries each year. It must be said quite frankly that the average congregation to which they are sent is not ready for them.

The typical layman knows little enough of the history of the world, and less of the history of the Christian church. He has the most vague and misty ideas of Biblical scholarship. He has never faced the conditions which have set the social passion pulsing in the hearts of men. And he is a person of unenlightened provinciality as regards international relations. The glorious laymen in all the churches who do not answer to this description are a small minority. The result is that a gulf is being created between the illiterate layman and the trained minister which has its own sinister significance.

Added to this the laymen are demanding and are receiving a larger place in the councils of the churches. And when an untrained laity come to the place of authority in respect of great decisions you have an anomalous condition indeed. Of course democracy is only safe when you have trained democrats. And lay leadership is only safe when you have trained laymen. Preachers sound forth notes of noble enthusiasm and laymen who have not read a single book which gathers the significant facts in our present situation, speaking out of an expansive ignorance condemn them as impractical. Preachers utter wise words of biblical interpretation and find untutored laymen the easy victims of the pretentious folly of the fundamentalist movement. Preachers speak out with fine and dauntless enthusiasm for a world order which shall bring an end to war and laymen who know how to organize a business effectively but have a spacious ignorance as to the whole history of international relations pronounce their words to be idle dreams.

These laymen are many of them wonderfully fine and delightful men in their personal relations. They have keen minds, too, but they simply lack the body of knowledge which makes it possible to think about some of the most important matters which confront us today. They stand in a sort of intellectual bread line when it comes to the matter of sound and serviceable reading. Some of them have never had a good meal for the mind and the signs of intellectual emaciation they carry about with them all the while. It is no more than the simple truth to say that this situation must be changed if we are to make our way

out of the present debacle. Laymen and ministers must march together. They must read the same books. They must face the same tasks with the same utensils. They must live in one world and together must fight its battles.

The first step of the wise minister then has to do with the saving of the illiterate layman from the tragedy of his ignorance. He must be encouraged to become a reader. He must be guided to the sources of sound opinion. He must be led to think with complete candor about the great matters which divide the mind of the world. We venture a few suggestions as to the matter of the beginnings of the reading of this layman who really wants to find his way. Professor Thompson's "Outline of Science" will open many a door which has been completely closed. Professor Edwin T. Brewster's "The Understanding of Religion" will do a yeoman's service in relating religion to the scientific view of life. Mr. F. S. Marvin's "Living Past" will make a fine beginning in the matter of the experience of man upon this planet. Paul Hutchinson's "Spread of Christianity" will give a man a sense of the unfolding life of the church. Professor Rauschenbusch is still the best point of departure for the understanding of the social passion. Professor Hutchins' wonderful little book, "The Religious Experience of Israel" is the best sort of introduction to the modern view of the Old Testament. And "The Evolution of World Peace" in the Unity Series of the Oxford Press blazes the trails in the field of international relations.

This is only a beginning. The discipline of the mind of the layman is a life task. But along these lines the minister and the layman may travel together. They may discover a fellowship of the mind which they have never known before. They may become good comrades in all of the great struggles of our day. And as mind and heart and conscience move together they may become a power in the life of the community and the nation and the world.

The Peril of Oratory

WHO will deny the place in the Christian church of the gift which made a Spurgeon or a Beecher the inspirer of multitudes and the caller of "nations he knew not." Oratory wins a way into the human heart closed to all other appeals. It carries the experience of one man into the innermost citadel of another's soul. By its power scattered and solitary men are made to share in a common thrill. Christ draws near to five hundred brethren at once. Through the orator a man is lifted into new ranges of hope; he rises cheerfully to attempt adventures and with the orator's words ringing in his ears he will march to battle and to death. Oratory is almost a limitless social force; it is a power whereby human beings are lifted above themselves. Through its means a host which no man can number has entered into the new life. Is there any reason why the church of Christ should guard itself against the abuse of this power?

The orator influences his hearers; but in ways he himself may not know, they influence him. He is of all men the one most sensitive to impressions. He shrinks before censure or disapproval. He is cheered by applause, and

applause need not be expressed in sound—the orator feels it. Because of this sensitiveness he may trim his sails to catch the breeze. He may leave out the things which would be unpopular or swiftly glide over them. He may say certain things because they are expected of him. He may adopt certain tricks to make himself appear bold when in reality he is only saying what ninety-nine out of a hundred of his hearers accept. There is no end to the tricks which the orator is tempted to adopt.

When it is a question of enforcing certain truths and calls which his hearers do not doubt, the orator is comparatively safe. The evangelist who speaks to an audience which does not doubt the gospel but leaves it unheeded has a noble office, and the persuasive powers of an orator can serve no higher purpose than to expound and to enforce the old commonplaces of the Christian faith. Men like Moody can make their mastery of assemblies into a holy energy, awakening sleeping souls and bringing back to the forgetful the memories of other days when God's light shone upon them. But the orator has a more dangerous task when he deals on the platform with the intellectual presentation of the Christian truth and with the controversies of the moment. It is not impossible for a speaker to be perfectly candid, but it is hard. Anyone who has been accustomed to the language of a speaker discussing theology in a company of his friends at midnight may not find him the same man when he hears him on the platform. He will be less candid, he may even let it be supposed through his silence that he holds certain positions which he has long discarded. He will perhaps defend his action by reference to his "weaker brethren." Such reserve is one of the hindrances to the progress of the Christian faith.

The presence of the "weaker brother" may be an argument against the discussion of theological problems altogether in an assembly, but it cannot be an argument for suppression or evasion or mental reserve. So hard is it for an orator to deal thoroughly in a vast assembly with difficult themes, that many have given up hope of any advance in this way towards a clearer understanding of the truth. They trust more to groups, or to the less mighty but perhaps more permanent influence of the written word. As a general rule, there is a sharp line to be drawn between the evangelist—and every Christian preacher ought to be an evangelist—and the competent theologian who has a mastery of his subject. The evangelist does little good by dabbling in the great problems of theology. What is gained, for example, by such sayings as these: "Whatever may be thought of evolution, we cannot deny that," etc. "Was any man ever converted by reading Butler's Analogy?" "I would rather know the Rock of Ages than to know the age of rocks." These are but rhetorical tricks and they would not matter greatly if they did not bewilder and estrange some serious minds which desire to have such problems either discussed thoroughly or left alone.

Mere generalities are a temptation to the orator. Still more tempting are the occasions for saying things because they sound well—to over-speak himself. Such a man would be embarrassed if at the end of an eloquent discourse, full of exalted idealism, he were asked, "Well now, what are you going to do?" It is easy to be carried away

by the emotion of the moment into unreal words. One of the most wonderful of orators, John Henry Newman, knew the danger, though he saw it more distinctly in the man of letters than in the speaker. This is the danger for both—to say strong things without meaning anything by them, and to propound lofty ideals without any thought of bringing them into action.

Oratory is a form of self-expression. By its very nature it is a display of self. There is nothing wicked in this. Every great human activity has its root in certain instincts which may be turned either to good or evil. It is not wrong for an orator to have a desire for praise or to display his gifts, but his oratory needs careful watching. And since this gift is in earthen vessels, the church of Christ cannot be blind to its defects and its perils. By all means let the church claim its orators. But let them keep to their own tasks, and if they have nothing authoritative to say upon matters of serious moment in the intellectual life of the church, let them be silent. If they have only the knowledge of political affairs, possessed by any intelligent man who reads his paper, let them be silent.

To deal superficially with great concerns, to be an echo of the popular press, to say things because they are in the part, are some of the temptations of the orator, and when he yields to them he does much to neutralize all the good that his earnest appeals may do. It is for such reasons that Dr. Jacks speaks of oratory as "a malign influence," and says "a great deal of what is now offered us as religion consists not of what is believed, but of something that somebody wants us to believe." The only remedy is to return to sincerity and to eschew cant, and if the remedy is partly in the orator, it is partly also in the hearers. There was a society described in one of Mr. George A. Birmingham's books as the Anti-Tommy-Rot society. If all listeners in church belonged to such a society there would be a speedy diminution of unreal words, and an increase in the true power of the inspired speaker.

Oratory, to sum up, is so great a power that it can only be had along with great risks. The orator can rise high and for this reason he can sink very low. The church may keep this priceless treasure only at the hazard of untold loss.

How?

HOW do they live who never see the sky
Save some gray patch by noon,
All smeared with dirty smoke?
Housed in foul tenements, reared in vile stench,
Broken by drudgery, hopeless through life,
How do they live?

How can they live who never turn their hands
To any useful work,
Yet know their ease is fed
By ceaseless toil and misery?
That other human beings die too soon
That they may live in luxury?

How can they live?

NELSON GRAY SPENCER.

The Society of Friends

By Elbert Russell

MANY things suggest that at its origin the Society of Friends had little or no connection with contemporary church history. The founders of the society broke away sharply in many important respects from historical Christianity as embodied in the great churches that surrounded them: the Roman, Lutheran, and Anglican. They based their religious system on personal and social experience and the ancient scriptures, and frankly avowed their intention to reproduce, without regard to its subsequent historic developments the spirit and simplicity of primitive Christianity. Quakerism, nevertheless, did not spring full-grown from the mind of one man nor was it the outgrowth of the experience of a single sect or age. Its relation to historic Christianity is threefold.

In the first place, all its important component elements, whether of doctrine, discipline, or practice, were in existence in the thought and life of England in the seventeenth century, and had already a long history. They had been tested out in the experience of those sects, which from time to time since the days of the early church had raised protests against the historic church, and staking their all on some phase of vital religion, had found it satisfying. Waldenses, Lollards, Anabaptists, Friends of God, Brethren of the Common Lot, Brethren of the Free Spirit, Behmenists, Collegianten, Familists, Seekers—these were the spiritual ancestors of Quakerism.

LAST WAVE OF REFORMATION

Second: The Quaker movement was the last wave of the reformation in England. Puritanism formed the second wave, and Quakerism out-puritaned the Puritans. It shared to a large degree the Puritan attitude toward art in worship, fiction in literature, the theater, and out-door sports. Friends went further and discarded entirely the customary liturgies of and the use of music in worship; refused to follow the changing fashions in dress, to give "titles of honor or distinction," to use the plural pronoun in addressing a single person, or to doff the hat to social superiors. They substituted numerical designations for the originally pagan names of the days of the week and months. (It should be added here that most of this inherited Puritanism has been outgrown and abandoned by most modern Friends.)

Third: Quakerism formed the logical conclusion of the Protestant reformation. The medieval religious system was built on the double conviction that God is so transcendent and man so depraved, that man can come into relations with God only through mediators or know of spiritual things only through specially endowed agencies of revelation. Revealed truth has been committed to the exclusive keeping of the church. To it alone have been entrusted the sacraments and other means of grace through which alone men experience the divine mercy or come into communion with Christ. Man in his natural state, it holds, is too depraved to be able to perceive or arrive at spiritual knowledge for himself. He dare not trust his own reason or conscience. If they conflict with the teaching or re-

quirements of the church, he is bound to believe what the church teaches, however unbelievable it may seem to him, and to do what the church commands however repugnant to his own conscience.

From this system of ecclesiastical authority Luther led the successful revolt. He dared trust his own conscience against Tetzl, even when the pope and church supported the latter. At the diet of Worms he put the issue concisely: "Unless I am refuted by scriptural testimonies or by clear arguments—for I believe neither the pope nor the councils alone, since it is clear that they have often erred and contradicted one another—I am bound by the passages of Scripture which I have cited, and my conscience is bound in the word of God. I cannot and will not recant anything, since it is unsafe and dangerous to act against conscience."

INWARD AUTHORITY

Logically this position of Luther substituted an inward for an outward authority. It left no place for any church authority except that granted by the convictions and free consent of the members. This logical outcome, however, was not at once attained. It was too great a step from papal absolutism to free individualism. None of the great reformers escaped entirely from the medieval conceptions concerning the relations of God and man. They did not have the full New Testament conception of the fatherly immanence of God and the potential divine sonship of man. Mediation of some kind still seemed necessary. They could not conceive of full personal salvation nor communion without the sacraments, and for these an officiating priesthood and an ordaining church seemed necessary.

When, therefore, the exercise of private judgment by others seemed to threaten the complete disintegration of the church, Luther and Calvin both drew back. They dared not trust other men's reason and conscience, sobered by responsibility and corrected by education, experience, and mutual counsel, to lead men freely to common perceptions of essential truth and to form the basis for a new organization of the church.

The same inconsistency has marked the Protestant attitude toward the Bible. The first reformers were quite aware that the canon of the Bible had behind it the authority of the Catholic church, whose councils had determined just what books belonged to it. Luther and Calvin repudiated this authority and were compelled to reestablish the authority of the Biblical books on some other basis before they could make them a final authority in faith and practice for Protestantism. Both finally made the authority of Scripture to rest, according to their own private judgment, upon a self-chosen principle. But no such liberty of belief was allowed to their fellow-Christians. The right of private judgment in fundamentals was ultimately denied. The human reason was competent to prove the inspired authority of the Bible, but not to criticize or interpret it. The authority of the state church was substituted for that of the Catholic church. Scripture was authoritatively defined in the Protestant canon, authoritatively in-

terpreted in the creed, and assent was enforced by the government.

Because of these inconsistencies Protestantism has never enjoyed peace within itself. Its history has been the story of oppression, persecution and religious ostracism on the one hand, and of dissent, criticism, rebellion, division and sectarianism on the other. The struggle to extricate it from this inconsistency is the key to modern Protestant history. For Protestantism as a whole this process is not yet completed, but its essential goals were reached in the latter half of the seventeenth century by the Society of Friends. This fact is recognized by Professor James in his "Varieties of Religious Experience": "So far as our Christian sects today are evolving into liberality, they are simply reverting in essence to the position which Fox and the early Quakers so long ago assumed." They were the first to reach the logical implications of the reformation: God immanent in the soul, inward authority, salvation without ecclesiastical mediation, and the church as a free democracy without external bond or test, a brotherhood without limitation of nationality, race, caste or sex.

The original contributions of George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, were a unifying idea, an organizing experience and a dynamic personality. He rediscovered the revolutionizing power and sufficiency of the indwelling Spirit of Christ. After all things outward had failed him in his quest for God, the inwardly manifested Christ "spoke to his condition." As a result of his great experience he found the spirit of war, of class, caste, and exclusive patriotism removed from him. He found in all men the same divine possibilities and capabilities as in himself. He trusted the Inner Light in other men as a sufficient basis for social and religious reorganization. He organized the kindred spirits, who gathered about him, into a democratic religious society, giving equal rights to women in the ministry and worship. They felt no need of priest or sacrament to bridge a gap between them and God, since they found Him in the immediate experience of their spiritual life and fellowship.

QUAKER POLITY

The organization of the fellowship took shape in something resembling a combination of congregational and presbyterian polity. In a general way the monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings correspond to session, synod and general conference in the Presbyterian system. But each kind of meeting is theoretically a meeting of the whole membership. Any member has the right to attend and have an equal voice in them. The "monthly meeting" is the executive unit, composed of one or more congregations. The "yearly meeting" is historically the supreme legislative body. There are altogether twenty-nine yearly meetings in all branches of Friends in the United States and Canada. Among the "Hicksite" or Liberal Friends since 1902 there is a general conference which meets every two years to consider and coordinate the work of the society, but has no legislative powers. Among "Orthodox" or progressive Friends there is a Five Years' meeting, which is a super-yearly meeting, composed only of representatives appointed by the constituent yearly meetings.

The Quaker movement has shown unusual vitality, for

the death rate among mystical sects has always been high. Mystical religion, like all high forms of life, is a great complex, so filled with powerful passions and primitive instincts, so liable to fixed ideas surging up from below the threshold of consciousness that it is often difficult to distinguish the impulse and ideas that are from God from those that spring from our animal and primitive nature. It is possible to mistake these lower movings for the will of God and make shipwreck of the mystic adventure. As a matter of history, many Christian mystical sects have, to use George Fox's expressive phrase, "run out" into absurdity, anarchy or even immorality.

THE INNER LIGHT

One of the secrets of the continued existence of Quakerism with a fairly sane character and in good repute is, beside its central truth of the Inner Light, the fact that it has been so closely anchored to the historic Christian revelation. It has always recognized in the Bible the inspiration of the same Spirit who is known in the inner consciousness as the Inner Light. Friends have, therefore, used the Scriptures for testing doubtful impulses, and valued the Bible as a guide-book in the quest for God. But they have not been content merely to take religious truth on the authority of the guide-book; they have insisted on seeing for themselves the spiritual realms it describes and enjoying the divine beauty to which it points the way. They could not let it suffice as a substitute for personal knowledge of God nor be content with a "God they took from a printed book."

Another secret of the continued sanity and good standing of Quakerism is that it is a social mysticism. It recognizes that the individual can never attain his fullest life alone. Therefore the "Children of the Light" became a religious society. Their conceptions of spiritual truth come clearest in the meeting for worship. In the waiting, and worship, and counsel of the business meeting the will of God as to their corporate activity becomes clearer. Neither the authority of the organization nor the consensus of the opinion of the meeting takes the place of the individual conviction, but the individual member has a clearer "leading" as to truth and duty because of his sharing the wisdom of the spiritual group. It is not the custom, therefore, of Friends to transact the business of the Society simply by voting nor by the rule of the majority, but to wait until the collective judgment is so clear and united that action can be taken in unity. For in religious matters no outward achievement can compensate for the loss of the spirit of loving fellowship.

SHORTCOMINGS OF FRIENDS

It is in place now to make confession of our shortcomings. The Society of Friends has gained in reputation since the great war; and has now with many a reputation not wholly deserved and not easy to live up to. We do not want to be thought better than we are. We ourselves know how often we have followed our ideals as Peter followed his Lord, "afar off," and how many of us have caricatured our high principles in our daily practice. An individualistic society like ours gives scope for the devel-

opment of cranks. We have our goodly share of those who cling to dead traditions and of those who have a name to live spiritually but are dead. We carry the burden of the indifferent and worldly-minded and are encumbered with antiquated machinery.

As a whole, the society has at times deviated from the ways of the founders. The second generation showed the almost universal tendency of religious movements gradually to lose their first zest and the reality of inward experience and to cling in lieu of them to the forms in which new life once expressed itself. In the eighteenth century the Quaker movement crystallized into a set of observances. Plain dress, the singular pronouns, the marriage without a priest, the refusal to doff the hat, at first "testimonies" to great principles, gradually became accepted "peculiarities," badges of sectarian difference. Silence in worship passed with many from an opportunity to a form of worship; and the traditional practices were insensibly accepted as essential parts of the Quaker system, of almost equal importance with "justice, mercy and faith."

BIRTHRIGHT MEMBERSHIP

"Birthright membership" began as an expression of the society's responsibility for the welfare of the children of needy members; but it soon grew into a recognition of the grown-up children of Friends as full members, without a personal choice or public confession corresponding to confirmation in the denominations that practice infant baptism. It was certainly an anomaly in a spiritual society and did much to lower the level of conviction and character in it. The largest body of American Friends—the Five Years Meeting—has substituted an associate membership for it. That the birthright membership worked as well as it did is due to the strong religious influence of Quaker family life, schools and meetings. During the century and a half following the year 1700 there were few accessions to the society by "convincements," and the society was kept up, though with diminishing numbers, by birthright members. On the other hand, the moral voltage of the society was only held up by "disowning" or turning out of the society, those who did not conform to its rigid requirements. The very numerous disownments of this period were confessions on its part of its failure to convert its children.

The second great detour which the society made from the way of the founders was in the age of quietism. After the toleration act (1689) all religious bodies in England experienced a reaction from the strenuous conflicts of the Puritan period, a religious quiescence to which deism contributed. But with Friends this cessation of missionary and evangelistic zeal became a settled policy. Like other nonconformists, they were excluded from the universities. When the generation of Penn, Barclay and other university-trained leaders died, they left no successors similarly educated. The new generation was careful to provide elementary education for its members, but neglected religious education. The teaching of the great Catholic quietists, Madame Guyon and Molinos, found a congenial spirit among Friends in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Quietism inculcated the fear of "creaturely ac-

tivity," by which was meant chiefly new methods of religious work, and wound up the official society in the cocoon of its own traditions during these "middle ages of Quakerism."

QUIETISM

Quietism had one compensation. In its fear of interfering with the work of the Spirit of God in the soul, it respected the freedom of the individual. Men were not regimented in worship, nor were humane impulses manhandled by officials in their tender stages, nor the growing points of tender souls rubbed off by church discipline. The society even in its quiescence proved a good nursery for great souls and great causes. Its very refusal to follow the fashions, dogmas and historic forms of current Christianity fostered an independence and initiative that bred spiritual pioneers. A religious influence is not wholly bad that can produce Bellers, "the father of socialism"; Tuke, the founder of hospitals for the insane; Woolman, the anti-slavery pioneer; Bedford with his soup-kitchen; Elizabeth Fry, prison reformer; Lucretia Mott and J. G. Whittier, abolitionists, and Susan B. Anthony, suffragist.

The third great failure of the society, the failure of its spiritual bond to maintain its unity, came through the "evangelical" influence. It entered Quakerism about the end of the eighteenth century through contact in philanthropic work with evangelicals of the church of England. From England it spread to America about the beginning of the nineteenth century. A half century later it began to be strengthened by contact with Methodist neighbors. It brought to the quietist society new life, new evangelistic zeal, renewed interest in education, and new programs of activity. It saved the society from becoming finally embalmed in its own traditions.

RISE OF DOCTRINAL CONTENTION

But it proved a disrupting force. In its zealous haste for definite results it often tore off the shell before the chick was ready to hatch. It limited education by dogma; it was intolerant of liberty of doctrinal belief. It insisted, as did Quakers of old, on religion as a personal experience of saving power, but it married such experience indissolubly to a system of theology. The old brotherly love and tolerance vanished in doctrinal contention. In 1827 the new democratic spirit of the age fostered by the social philosophy of the American and French revolutions revolted against the attempt of the elders in Philadelphia to enforce the new tests of doctrinal "soundness" against a very popular preacher, Elias Hicks. The result was a division of the society into two bodies. The smaller body, chiefly confined to the eastern states, kept the old ways, maintaining its freedom from the new activities and from doctrinal tests. They are usually called "Hicksites" or Liberals. As the new methods of religious education and evangelism spread among the larger or "Orthodox" body, small separations of conservatives split off from it between 1845 and 1904. Friends in this country are therefore now divided into three main groups: "Orthodox" or Progressive Friends (about 97,000), "Hicksite" or Liberal Friends (about 18,000), and "Wilburite" or Conservative Friends (about 3,500). Perhaps we have not suffered

more from the divisiveness of Protestantism in the nineteenth century than other denominations, but our historic emphasis on freedom and love should have saved us entirely from such divisions.

The evangelical movement brought new life and activities. In the west especially, after the civil war, a wave of revivalism swept over the society which added thousands of members. Most of these were not acquainted with Quaker traditions and their influence produced many changes. Music was introduced in worship, the meeting-house architecture was assimilated to church and chapel styles, the manner of worship approximated that of low church Protestantism, and pastors were introduced. Many of these elements were borrowed outright and are being slowly assimilated to the Quaker polity. The "Great Revival" stimulated missionary and evangelistic activities, built up Bible schools and colleges, and led to cooperation with other denominations in most of the great church activities of the country. These changes were never uniform and the most extreme of them were confined to the "Orthodox" or Progressive group. Among the younger Friends there is a distinct reaction toward the original type of free mystic worship.

WEAKENED BY DIVISIONS

We may now attempt to appraise the prospects of the society. Its greatest weakness is its lack of unity. One of the smallest religious denominations, its working efficiency and moral force are sadly diminished by its historic divisions. It is difficult to preach convincingly the gospel of good-will and reconciliation in face of our irreconcilable differences. Our testimony to peace is handicapped by these monuments of our ancient contentiousness. And when a stranger wishes to join the Society of Friends we are embarrassed at having to tell him he must be exclusive in his choice of Friends! He cannot join the whole society, but only a "branch" of it. There are many and growing indications that the society may be again united at no distant date.

We are not troubled by large publishing or other vested interests that sometimes prevent church reunion. The greatest obstacle to reunion is the fear of liberalism on the part of our ultra-evangelical members. Happily this is greatest in those yearly meetings where the Liberals are not represented and are not known personally. The influence of English Quakerism, which has not suffered from division as has the American section of the society, is a distinct force for unity. In its "correspondence" London Yearly Meeting has ceased to make distinctions between the American groups. The young Friends of all groups work together freely. Friends' European relief work brought all Friends into cooperation, and the need to stand together to maintain our peace attitude during the recent war revived the sense of our common heritage. The "All-Friends' Conference" in London in 1920 was the first occasion for an official cooperation of all Friends since the unfortunate divisions of 1827-28. We are also sufficiently responsive to the spirit of the age to feel the impulse toward Christian union. The unity that is in the air is a hopeful reinforcement to that which is in our blood.

The most vital differences in the society today—our *real* divisions—are not the historical ones. Right through all

groups run the same differences that afflict other American denominations: between liberals and "fundamentalists," and between social radicals and social conservatives; and besides there is our own peculiar distinction between pastoral and non-pastoral Friends. These differences of policy and thought no longer seriously threaten further organic divisions.

"FUNDAMENTALISM"

Quaker "fundamentalism" is a three-fold combination. I should say it is a compound of about one-third "evangelical," one-third holiness, and one-third millenarian. It has been most active in the Five Years Meeting (which includes all "Orthodox" or Progressive yearly meetings, except Ohio and Philadelphia), making war on liberal teachers in Friends' colleges and threatening to oust liberal secretaries and editors from positions of influence. It endeavored to cut off support from the home and foreign mission boards and even to withdraw certain yearly meetings from the Five Years Meeting.

The Five Years Meeting in 1922 was a critical one. The liberals, who had feared they might be driven out of the society or out of any effective cooperation in it, found themselves in control. The spirit of conciliation and good-will asserted itself. The "fundamentalists" were given more than they had dared expect by way of assurance of our common religious faith and cooperation; and instead of a tug of war, the meeting became a love-feast which closed with the hearty cooperation of all in the organized work of the society.

The majority of Friends in America are rural. They are not generally conscious of the need of social changes as are our English Friends, and are naturally fearful of socialism and all allied programs of social change. In the industrial centers, however, there is a growing consciousness of the social meaning of the gospel of Christ and of the demand of our traditions and principles that we become pioneers in championing the cause of labor and the exploited races. These issues loom largest in the not distant future.

CHIEF OBSTACLE TODAY

The greatest present-day obstacle to common work and worship among Friends is the difference between the "pastoral" and "nonpastoral" groups. The latter are those who keep the traditional "un-programmed" or mystic manner of worship "on the basis of silence." They have no paid or professional ministers, and put the responsibility for the vocal service on individual initiative and inspiration under the group stimulus. The "pastoral" meetings approximate the usual type of evangelical Protestant worship, but without a fixed order of service, usually giving opportunity for volunteer vocal participation from the congregation, and often having periods of silence. Each type has its advantages: the non-pastoral seems to make most for inwardness of character; the pastoral, for organized activity. The former is best suited to spiritually mature and relatively small meetings. It develops individual initiative, inward strength and solidity of character. The pastoral meetings are better suited to new and heterogeneous groups that need a teaching ministry. It tends to develop well-organized and effective working congregations

and seems to require large meetings both for the financial support of the pastor and for the emotional group stimulus. There is no reason to be found in the Quaker principles why there should be uniformity in organization or in manner of worship, except in so far as the common understanding of the divine leading calls for identical measures to meet common needs and tasks.

When the Christian union comes for which we pray, it will be a blend of those phases of Christianity which each denomination has emphasized and cherished. To this

Next week Charles Clayton Morrison will write on the Quakers from the point of view of an outsider.

Shall the United States Join the World Court?

A Debate

This is the third and concluding installment of the debate held under the auspices of the Unitarian Laymen's League, at Cambridge, Mass., on May 21, 1923. Previous issues have contained the addresses of Prof. Manley O. Hudson and Prof. John Dewey. The former was given forty minutes for the opening address, the latter fifty minutes to reply, and Professor Hudson's remarks herewith were made in the final ten minutes allotted to him. Both speakers then answered questions.

Response of Professor Hudson

MR. CHAIRMAN: Of course I should not presume to debate a subject of this kind with Mr. Dewey. Mr. Dewey is at once my teacher and my master. I never see him without getting from his zeal and his wisdom new courage and new faith in the efficacy of human effort. I think it is clear to you that Mr. Dewey and I do not stand far apart. I think it is clear that both of us agree that the war system is the world's present greatest evil, as he said. If there is a difference in our approaches to this problem this evening, it proceeds rather from the more limited character of my mind and the more limited character of my intellectual processes. I have to approach a problem of this kind by thinking of definite situations and by planning how I would like to see the world in my time meet those definite situations. I would like to see some progress made by the generation of which you and I are a part, the generation that has lived through this awful war, toward ridding the world of war altogether.

In my mind that progress can be made, and it is quite within our grasp. It does not depend upon a complete face-about of the political philosophy of the people of the United States of America. It does not depend upon a complete face-about in the political philosophy of the peoples of the other nations of the world. I should be only too pleased if both our own and other peoples could be brought to view this matter as Mr. Dewey views it.

coming free catholicism, Quakerism may be able to contribute out of its experience these elements: free mystic worship, lay and women's ministry, democracy extending beyond the local congregation, pacifism of positive goodwill both in war and in peace, social progress by the voluntary abnegation of privilege, brotherhood without limitation of class, caste, race or nation—and, I hope, great patience with others' frailties due to a humble sense of its own failure in its efforts toward the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.

(Applause.) I feel, however, that there is little likelihood that such a complete revolution in human thinking is going to be accomplished at once. And I should like to see to it, therefore, that we proceed with the immediate task at hand—I shall no longer call it a step (laughter and applause)—the immediate task of setting up international machinery which we may hand on to the decade that is going to follow us and to the decades as they follow that.

NOT THE BEST BUT THE BEST YET

You and I were born into a world which had in it the congress of the United States and the supreme court of the United States. I spend my share of time in quarreling with both of those bodies. (Laughter.) And yet they are bodies whose usefulness in the world in which we live I do not question. They came about only as the consequence of earnestly and intelligently directed effort, a little more than a century ago. We do not have to think about them. We do not have to think that Massachusetts must have some tribunal to go before in her recent dispute with the state of New York. It is a customary thing for us to think of going to the supreme court of the United States. I want to hand on to the generation that will follow us and the other generations to come a similar international institution, the permanent court of international justice. It may not be the best court that you and I could devise, but it happens at the moment to represent the best plan that forty-six peoples scattered throughout the earth could agree upon. (Applause.)

I want also to hand on to the generation that will follow us an international organization for conference, for consultation, for bringing men together around a table to talk over the world's common problems. And I am very much influenced, as I am afraid Mr. Dewey is not, by the fact that in your time and in mine fifty-two peoples scattered throughout the earth, representing every religion, speaking every language, derived from every race, are today supporting a procedure of that kind; and I do not hear

the advocates of outlawry of war saying that the United States ought to support it.

May I come very quickly to the three points in Mr. Dewey's program? I can agree, our situation today is so exigent, we need so badly some intelligent device with which to approach this war problem, that I quite agree with him that we should seize upon any expedient which may offer some relief. I am delighted that Mr. Dewey is giving his time to the support of the movement to outlaw war. I should like to see war pronounced a crime. I should like for us to try it out. Personally, being a lawyer, I do not have as much faith as Mr. Dewey in the pronouncements of the law as they are laid down. (Laughter.) Personally I find it impossible to believe that a mere fiat of an international conference is going somehow to undo the habits of these past centuries in men's minds. I find myself unable, therefore, to pin to their proposal the faith that Mr. Dewey pins to it. And yet I think it is a very excellent proposal and I would like to see war branded as a crime.

I am sorry that Mr. Dewey and some others of my friends who collaborate with him have paid so little attention to the serious effort which has recently been made by fifty-two peoples of the world, to declare that war shall be illegal under certain definite and prescribed conditions. The covenant of the league of nations lays it down in the clearest terms that war is to be illegal if entered upon by any nation without having given to the public opinion of the world a chance to be focused upon the dispute and a chance to do its utmost to settle that dispute. That is the situation as it exists today, and it is an earnest effort being made by fifty-two peoples of this world. And yet my friends who are engaged in promoting the program of Senator Borah's resolution talk as if there were no such thing under way. They see only, as it is easy enough for you or me to see, the very great difficulties that are in the way of the present league of nations. They see only, as it is easy enough for you and me to see, the great sore spots in the European situation today. But I think they do not do sufficient justice to the effort that is being made by serious, liberal-minded men and women of other countries of the world to make war illegal.

INTERNATIONAL CODE

The second part of Mr. Dewey's program, as he accepts Senator Borah's resolution, as I take it, would call for the codification of international law. I am afraid again that I do not believe it is possible for us to make great and sudden progress toward giving the world a complete and thoroughly adequate code of international law. I am afraid I do not sufficiently trust the people who are engaged in international law throughout the world today, to be perfectly confident in my own mind that they will not spend a great deal of time codifying the law of war if we bring them together. I am afraid, also, that I do not sufficiently trust my colleagues in international law to believe that they can draw up a complete and adequate code of law for the future.

But there is an approach to the codification of international law which seems to me an altogether better one—an approach that is now under way. In the course of the last three and a half years we have got through the various

agencies of the league of nations no fewer than sixteen international labor conventions, a Barcelona convention on freedom of transit, a Barcelona convention on freedom of waterways, a convention forbidding the traffic in women and children, provisions for enforcing and executing the treaties for the protection of linguistic and religious minorities, the mandates for the protection of the inhabitants of transferred territories; and I might name a number of other additions to our stock and store of international law. It seems to me the kind of functional approach to codification which deserves our effort. And yet my friends who talk so much about the codification of international law do not mention this process that is going on today.

A REAL COURT

It must be clear that with reference to the third part of Senator Borah's resolution, there is no very clear statement as to what is meant by a *real* international court. We have a court today which has been established with the expenditure of a great deal of energy and trouble and intelligence. Shall the world throw that court over in order to create a new court that cannot be very different from it? Or shall we say that we will take this court and shape it in the direction of giving it more and more and more of affirmative jurisdiction, until it can answer the needs of the world as a real supreme court? That seems to me to be the problem.

In all three of his suggestions I am entirely in agreement with the spirit with which Mr. Dewey approached the subject. I entirely agree with what he says about the desirability of pronouncing war to be a crime, and I do not even demand for myself who is going to punish for that crime? I think the pronouncement of war to be a crime, even though I know that it is a crime that cannot be punished, may serve some useful purpose. I cannot attach the importance to it that Mr. Dewey attaches.

With reference to the other two phases of their program, I simply invite their attention to what is going on, not in the world of 1920, a world of legalisms and conjectures about the covenant of the league of nations, but in the world of 1923, a world of three years' sound, solid and progressive record of the permanent court of international justice and the league of nations.

But you see Mr. Dewey approaches the subject much more generally than I. I am compelled to give my attention to these more specific problems and I do not doubt that I therefore lose some of the larger significance of the present problem.

PRESIDENT STRONG.* Now will you help us, please, by being patient only a little while. Will the ushers come rapidly and take up the questions? [The question slips were collected by the ushers.] You have been too generous. (Laughter.) I think Professor Dewey will turn and flee the stage any moment. While the ushers are looking for more will Professor Dewey answer one or two of his questions?

Professor Dewey

I will take the easiest one first.

* Mr. Charles H. Strong, well-known New York lawyer, president of the Unitarian Laymen's League, presided at the debate.

We have the United States supreme court. They have outlawed slavery and liquor; why not so with war?

My answer is unanimously in the affirmative. There are two or three questions of this general nature:

Through what agency will the people make war an outlaw—through congress or how? How is the proposition to be initiated and carried out?

Well, of course you have got to get public opinion first to do just the way other important measures have been carried through, especially the non-partisan measures. Take prohibition, whether you believe in it or not—it kept agitating and agitating, and finally congress acted in accordance. I do not believe there are nearly as many people in this country fond of war as were fond of their liquor. (Laughter.) In my judgment, it would be a very much easier matter to organize this public opinion and get action by congress, and naturally the administration would have to communicate this action to other nations. Undoubtedly there would have to be some campaign of education, discussion carried on in this country, and finally—I do not know just how it would be done, but I can imagine it done for practical purposes through an exchange of treaties. That is, after the legislative body of each nation has committed itself to that policy, then practically there is an exchange of treaties between all nations along this general line.

There is some question as to whether there is any real antagonism between the views of Professor Hudson and myself, or whether it is possible for anybody to favor both. Well, as I said, I am in favor of any measure to help to remove war. You may remember the very old, somewhat vulgar story of the man who received a telegraphic message of the death of an obnoxious relative, and it said: "Shall we embalm, bury or cremate?" And he replied: "Em-balm, bury and cremate; take no chances." (Laughter.) And that is the way I feel about this. I only felt obliged to point out how little you were really getting. I do not need to insist upon that, because Professor Hudson's speech was distinguished by its moderation and sticking to the facts of the case, and not making the claims that are sometimes put forth in a vague way.

Now the trouble is, if the people of the country respond to this proposition I am afraid they are not going to respond on the basis of as moderate and temperate a statement of facts as that which we have listened to tonight. They are going to be given the idea, whether for political purposes or otherwise, that this is a great and wonderful move forward; not just a little step, you know, but a whole bound. Then wars will go on in Europe and break out; they will find that none of these cases, not a single one of them, that create war will come before the court, and they will say, "Fooled again," and they will withdraw deeper into their isolation because it is the second time they will have been fooled. That is what I am afraid of. There is no isolation *per se* in this country, but we found hopes and illusions aroused and we found that the political situation in Europe, league or no league, forbade the realization of those hopes.

Now I love the preamble to the covenant. It is a wonderful declaration against war, a beautiful sentence that Professor Hudson quoted, but that does not alter the fact that since the treaty of Versailles there have been six wars

in Europe, five of those wars initiated by the nations that signed the covenant of the league which said that they were in favor of arbitrating all disputes. There has never been a suggestion that one of those cases go before a court for arbitration, and most of them have not been before the league. The only body they have been before is the conference of ambassadors. I have no interest in opposing the league. It is what is back of the league, and that is this political situation in Europe which is committed to the war system. And I say if this country is going to do everything, let it stand for its real value in peace and the riddance of the world of this war system.

PRESIDENT STRONG. The questions are so numerous that you will see for yourselves that it is impossible for these gentlemen to answer any mere fraction of them, so I will ask Professor Hudson to answer one or two and then if Professor Dewey has got his breath he may answer one or two, and then I think we must adjourn.

Professor Hudson

I have been asked some questions about the sanctions behind the decrees of the permanent court of international justice. On that I should like to associate myself with everything that Mr. Dewey has said. I am asked:

What are the advantages of the permanent court of international justice over the permanent court of arbitration at The Hague?

The chief advantage is that you have eleven judges and four deputy judges who can be assembled at a brief notice of two or three weeks, who are always ready, paid a salary throughout the year, to handle your case. In the old permanent court of arbitration it was necessary to choose your arbitrators out of a large panel, and that frequently took a great deal of time and a great deal of feeling was engendered in the process. Moreover, the judges of the permanent court of arbitration in the various tribunals that were created out of that court, did not have the continuity in their work which is necessary if we are going to build up a system of jurisprudence for international law. It is true that a few men were called upon to sit a number of times in the tribunals created out of the permanent court of arbitration—Dr. Lammasch of Austria, for instance; but as a general matter each tribunal created out of that old permanent court of arbitration was a new thing and had to begin all over again. The advantage of this new court is that the court has a constant, permanent personnel. Moreover, it has the very great advantage of having been named as the judicial agency to handle questions of interpretation arising under a great many different international treaties.

Then I am asked the question:

Why did not the league function to prevent the Greco-Turkish difficulty?

Well, I am not sure whether that is one of the six wars which Mr. Dewey mentioned or not.

PROF. DEWEY. It is.

PROF. HUDSON. That seems to be one?

PROF. DEWEY: Yes, quite one.

PROF. HUDSON. Well, doesn't it seem to you a little bit too bad that anybody should upbraid the league of nations

or the permanent court of international justice for not handling the Greco-Turkish difficulty? Greece and Turkey have now been at war ever since Greece entered the World war. There has never been a peace arranged. At one time a treaty was signed, but it was at once repudiated by the only people who had power in Turkey. There was a war raging in which there were a great many different kinds of problems, and we have had now at Lausanne for the past six months negotiations attempting to meet those problems. To meet them it has been necessary, of course, to handle that political machinery which Mr. Dewey greatly dislikes. But those politicians have had to understand these problems, some of them exceedingly complicated, exceedingly difficult, and I do not doubt that in the course of the diplomatic negotiations at Lausanne there has been a great deal of trading back and forth. But who is ready to say that a complicated, intricate situation of that sort could be handled by judges according to the existing international law? It is not I who would say so.

I am then asked whether the permanent court of international justice is not so tied up with the league of nations that the United States could not give it support without joining the league of nations. I think I have already indicated that that is not my view. The court was established by a separate, distinct and independent treaty. It does not depend, therefore, on the covenant of the league of nations or on the treaty of Versailles. Its budget forms a separate part of the budget of the league of nations. It seems to me a much more economical matter to collect the money in that way. Moreover, it is a very difficult thing to determine just how much of any international budget should be paid, let us say, by Honduras and how much should be paid by France. And in allocating the expenses of the league of nations that has proved a very difficult matter indeed. And so it was said in establishing this international court, "We will not set up another money-collecting, money-allocating agency; we will simply use the machinery that is at hand." The sending of a draft once a year, not to Geneva but to The Hague, does not involve the United States in the league in the least.

Then as to electing judges: it is possible, I think, for us to send a representative to the council and to the assembly when those bodies sit as elective bodies and have that representative withdraw when the election is over. That is entirely possible. I am asked how often the judges are elected. The judges are elected for periods of nine years and the next election of judges will be held in 1930. So you see it is several years off before we have to face the problem of sending a representative to Geneva for a general election.

"EVENTUALLY, WHY NOT NOW?"

I won't detain you by answering all these questions. Many of them would be repeating arguments that I have already made and I should perhaps take advantage of your question to reiterate my argument. Instead of doing that I will take two or three of a little more practical nature:

Is the permanent court necessary and permanently committed in the old direction? Can it not lead eventually to the outlawry of war?

Certainly, but in the words of the advertisement, "Eventually, why not now?" (Laughter.)

Will not a vote of no because of favoring a better plan be construed as a vote against any entering of the United States into efforts to promote peace?

Well, I have not urged anybody to vote no on this resolution. That is for themselves to decide. I only wish there were another vote so you could vote yes or no on the outlawry of war. Maybe some of you have written it in on the back somewhere. If you pass a unanimous vote in favor of both of them it won't hurt my feelings any.

Now the other question is really a practical question:

An individual, now and where shall I begin to bring about the right-about-face, of which attitude I am in favor?

Now, there are organizations beginning to be formed throughout the country, of local associations in favor of the outlawry of war. There has one committee been in existence about a year in Chicago, and I would like to ask those interested to take the name and address, if I may: Mr. S. O. Levinson, 76 West Monroe Street, Chicago, is the manager, so to speak, of this parent committee, and will be very glad to send literature. We are now engaged in forming a committee in New York to co-operate with this Chicago committee. There are similar movements in other places and I should feel as if I had really done something tonight if I were to hear that anything I have said may have stimulated the formation of a similar committee. I shall personally be very glad to answer any questions or send any literature that may be asked for. I have some copies of this other literature, but if you remember Mr. Levinson's name and address, you can get direct from him. In other words, the way to begin to do something here and now is to engage in the formation of a local society. And do not make any doubt about it—within this year or the next year, when the people at Washington have heard from the communities on this subject, they are going to vote yes in favor of these resolutions.

Anonymous

AN Angel said: "Within my breast
There is a song that I would sing,
And till I sing I cannot rest;

I feel it burn beneath my wing,
But words come not, though I have tried
To sing each moment since I died
On earth—so long ago that now,
Perchance, to sing I know not how."

God mused. That hour a bard was heard
Among the haunts of men. So true
The song he sang, so strong each word,

That those who listened, hoped anew,
Put off their fears and faced defeat,
With life serenely fresh and sweet.
Unknown, the singer went his ways,
Too rich in joy to wait for praise.

CHARLES GRANGER BLANDEN.

The Patriotism of Hatred

By Lloyd C. Douglas

IT MUST have been by accident, rather than design, that the klan has laid hold upon so many intriguing psychological principles; for its discoverable leadership does not appear to be vested in the keep of persons distinguished for large wisdom. Almost over night, in many sections of our country, this movement has achieved huge dimensions; and, evolving from a mere handful of men who, for the most part, were having their first experience as organizers, has become at once a power and a perplexity. The first sign of good strategy, in this movement, was disclosed in the selection of a name. Quite a volume of mystery, romance and adventure entails to the cryptic title of that host of white-clad night-riders who, during the reconstruction period following the civil war, sought to right some obvious wrongs by processes not strictly within the law. It was a southern institution devised to meet a peculiar emergency. General rumor had it that the Ku Klux numbered, among its leaders, many men of bravery and good standing. Many abuses came to pass, during the period of the klan's activity, injustices undoubtedly deplored by some who wore the garb of this order. It is hard to keep iconoclasm within reasonable bounds.

THE ORIGINAL KU KLUX

But when the apparent necessity for the institution was no longer in evidence, and the movement had fallen to pieces for lack of definite purpose, the history of this short-lived organization quickly assumed much of the mythical. It had been engaged in the performance of many unlawful acts, doubtless, but it had administered a sort of rough-and-ready justice with a degree of fairness and chivalry. In short, if the movement was illegal—and it was—it had performed its unlawful acts with at least the similitude of justice, and was to be considered, therefore, with some tolerance. A bit of chivalry and audacity sometimes adorns a crime until the public sympathy inclines more toward the defendant than the plaintiff. Witness Robin Hood, who made the vocation of highway robbery a gentleman's pursuit. Score one, then, for the Ku Klux klan, of today. It had the good fortune to choose a name about which considerable sentiment clustered.

In the next place, this new movement showed wisdom in breaking away from the customary processes of propaganda and organization, of which the whole world is weary. Latterly, to the establishment and crystallization of a sentiment, it is necessary, first, for the promoters of the cause to rent the eighteenth floor of an office building in New York, wherefrom emerges tons of organization literature. Elaborate machinery is invented to serve the convenience of local groups, throughout the country, charged with the responsibility of "putting the thing over." Tired little minorities of people who had already been through the mill, three dozen times in the past biennium, are furnished with the ubiquitous and inevitable "pledge-card" to solicit support for the institution. Preachers are enjoined to give a Sunday to it. The parent-teachers' association makes an afternoon of it. There

are a few "mass meetings," in which the mass is distinguished for its absence. And the campaign is on! We have all gone through this sort of thing so often that it fairly sickens us when a new voice on the phone apprizes us that the Third Assistant Vice-president of the No More Chewing-gum Society is in town and hopes to meet a small group of representative citizens for a complimentary luncheon at the Swellmore Hotel. "Our Sainted Uncle!"—exclaims the representative citizen—"if here isn't another fool campaign in the making!" The goose that once laid the philanthropic golden egg in the nest for the campaigner is at its last gasp.

UNCONVENTIONAL PUBLICITY

With surprising talent, the Ku Klux detoured skillfully around these organization blunders, cut loose from the worn out stupidities of all the other latter-day movements, and brought to pass a huge and powerful concern practically by word of mouth and a minimum of machinery. Where a dozen worthy causes have died of extravagances in bill-board advertizing, complimentary luncheons to distinguished citizens, the unlimited use of postage-stamps, clerical assistance, secretarial pilgrimages, etc., this ku klux business, with its office in its breast pocket, and expenses pared to nothing, has become a force to be seriously reckoned with. Let The League to Defend This, and The International Scheme to Smash That, and The Interplanetary Association to Do Something Else, take note.

Again, the Klan seems somehow to have arrived at the sound conclusion that about every so often the general public finds itself in a crusading mood. You can't have a crusade without militancy, and you can't have militancy without hate. The secret of success in all the huge campaigning revivals resided in the belief of the Pack that it was thereby proclaiming itself morally or spiritually superior over the residue of creation which held itself aloof. The big religious revival is temporarily on the shelf. But the crusading ambition is still with us. The Ku Klux stepped in at the psychological moment when the Pack really wanted to get together, and there was no other motion before the house.

It is not destined to last very long. So soon as it comes out in the open, with an ardent and candid campaign for members, organizes a woman's auxiliary and a children's coordinate order—as has come to pass, already, in many quarters—the thing has seen the beginning of the end. The business of klaning is a man's job. The lure of it is heavily invested in the mask, the assembly in the dark, the mysterious signs and passwords. The advertisement, in the country weekly, announcing "BIG RALLY OF THE KU KLUX KLAN AT THE FAIR GROUNDS, FRIDAY NIGHT, FIREWORKS! PARADE! SPEECHES! DON'T MISS IT!"—should be printed in the column of Death Notices. People who disbelieve in klan activities could well afford to pay for these advertisements, if they are sincerely eager to see this institution fall to pieces.

Meanwhile, and until the klan generally falls into the

common error of resorting to the usual methods of propaganda, and thereby arrives at speedy disintegration, it is something to be worried over. The printed statement of its faith reveals a handful of principles to which practically every loyal American would agree; but the actual motivation of the thing is Hate. Whatever may be the innocuous nature of the pledge exacted of the clansman, the institution is held together by its noisy antipathy to several social groups with whom we live, in this country, at close quarters.

CHANGED SENTIMENT

Less than a year ago, I attended a meeting where a Catholic priest, a Jewish rabbi, and a Protestant minister made brief addresses. When the chairman took occasion to speak of the cordial sentiment prevailing among these men, significant of a new era of good feeling between the groups they represented, the crowd cheered the comment, enthusiastically. It may be doubted if the chairman could make that observation, today, without sensing a certain restraint on the part of the crowd—any crowd—for the general public is feeling the effect of this klan movement.

Without doubt, the chief hate of the klan is directed against the Catholics. Ever since I was a little boy, I have heard persistent rumors, in every community I have lived in, to the effect that the Catholics were getting ready to rise up and do something—nobody was quite sure what. The cellar of the Catholic church was stocked with rifles to be used when the right time came, and the Knights of Columbus were secretly drilling in preparation for the fateful day. The parochial school was teaching doctrines subversive of patriotism. Rome, having lost her grip in her ancient stronghold, was about to make America the seat of her future activities. Such rumors, I say, floated about everywhere. If you insisted upon details, no one could furnish them. Customarily, the rumor-spreader is able to state that his brother-in-law's uncle, down in Bip-pus, heard a feller say, who had just come up from Flag-pole, that a peddler had told him whatever-it-was. But all this idle clatter about the disloyalty of the Catholics has lacked the definiteness and clean-cut authenticity of the conventional rumor. Whatever it is that the Catholics have been planning to do, against the best interests of the country, they appear not yet to have done it. They have generously supported the multitudinous causes looking toward human welfare. And when the nation has asked for a blood-offering, they have not been tardy with their share of the price. When it comes to the letting of blood, in behalf of the republic, Roman Catholic blood has compared very favorably with any other.

CATHOLICS IN POLITICS

The fact remains, however, that the Catholics have often put a premium on the criticisms indicated above in the manner with which they have stood solidly together in municipal elections. The only observable difference between their attitude, and that of certain other groups, is that the Catholics have usually been more effectively organized. The others would gladly have registered as much success in standing together, if they had possessed the unifying machinery. A Catholic mercantile concern is more likely to insist upon Catholic employees than a Protestant

concern insists upon hiring Protestants. It is true, also, that a religion which conducts its worship in a language with which the American public is not conversant, naturally exposes itself to misunderstanding. Many Catholics have been selfish; most of them are bigoted and narrowly sectarian. In this regard, however, they have had able examples provided them by certain Protestant groups whose parochialism and pin-headed bigotries speak for themselves. And when it comes to senseless superstitions—a frequent charge levelled at Catholicism—for some of us to insist upon that indictment only reveals that we have no sense of humor.

It is said that the Knights of Columbus are leagued to defend Catholicism against all comers. It is possible that the Knights of Columbus have sometimes had reason to suspect a similar ambition on the part of certain other Knights who appear to be zealous in the cause of protecting Protestantism. And if either party of Knights explains that its group came to pass in an effort to counteract the activities of some other group, it might be shown that the Knights of Columbus is heavily outranked, in years, by several other organizations of the sort, promoted by Protestants.

A SURE WAY TO DEFEAT

At all events, if the close cooperation of the Catholics, in trade, politics, and uniformed organizations is undesirable, in America, the dispassionate bystander doubts whether this error may be corrected through the mass organization of some mysterious Thing pledged to make the Catholic loosen up his corporation. It goes without saying that the activities of the klan, if they are to have any effect upon the Catholics, will only strengthen the morale of the latter's organizations, and provide them with a very excellent excuse for the practice of intolerances toward the Protestants. In other words, if the klan is out to correct the inharmonious relations which frequently divide the Protestants and Catholics into mutually contemptuous groups, it has chosen the method, of all methods, which absolutely guarantees its own defeat. If I want a man to see things my way, I had better not organize against him. If he seems to have banded his people together, and I doubt the wisdom of his unsocial course, is it likely that I may dissuade him of it by rigging up exactly the same kind of machinery wherewith to tighten up my group?

The writer does not intend, here, to serve as a self-appointed attorney for Catholicism. That would be a mere impertinence. It may be assumed that an institution which has survived so long, and effectively, requires no defense. There are plenty of features of this great organization with which the non-Catholic can hardly be expected to have much patience. Some of its principles are obviously ill-adapted to a democracy. It is unfortunate in that it is required to look, for orders, to a foreign headquarters. But it is clear that no program of organized hate, launched against it, will solve whatever problems exist in connection with that church.

The klan is opposed to the Jew. This is no new experience for the Jew. He has been the favorite target for the hate of every nation on earth. That hate may easily be explained on the ground of jealousy. The Jew is pros-

perous. He starts with nothing, and becomes a capitalist. That he is a tremendous financial power in this country would be fully understood, should he decide, some day, to gather up his liquid holdings and return to the Promised Land. There are Jews and jews. Many of the latter, noisy, boastful, greedy, and coarse, have made a nuisance of themselves. This does not go for the Jews, as a general class. The rank and file of them are good citizens—at least when viewed by economic tests. They manage to keep out of jail. The number of them in asylums is surprisingly small. If the only problems of delinquency and deficiency, in this country, were furnished by the Jews, our welfare organizations would be practically out of a job. The klan can oppose the Jews to the limit of its venom; there will be no come-back from that quarter. No matter how badly the Jew may feel over all this new hatred hurled against him, he will not retaliate. It will simply set him to wondering what good Christianity is, in the world, if this is where it all brings up. Whatever he may have thought of Christ, before, he may now doubt whether there is much salvation to be had, for anybody, in a cross that burns with the flames of hate!

THE FOREIGNER

The klan is against the foreigner in our midst. In his printed creed, he tempers this attitude by the mere statement of his belief that America is first for Americans—and others second. I suppose it is flat against nature that the average man should feel otherwise. In his mass meetings, however, the klansman unbridles his feelings on this matter, and speaks his mind freely. Of course, the foreigner is likely to be a problem, whoever he is and wherever he lands. He brings along enough of his old civilization to set him apart from the people of his adopted country. In recent years, we have been made the dumping ground for all manner of morons and criminal riff-raff from southeastern Europe. Thousands have come here to get what they could, by some hook or crook; paying no taxes, obeying only such laws as they found convenient, entirely candid in their contempt for America. This is a problem. But if the klansman thinks he can teach the foreigner a larger respect for our American institutions by pulling a pillow-case over his head, and assembling, by night, with thousands of others of his sort, to lay plans for the extra-legal pursuit of the foreigner's goat, it seems clear that the process provides its own defeat. If we are to teach this half-wit criminal class to respect our laws, we must do it some other way than by breaking them ourselves.

Who is the klansman? It is amazing to see the wide variety of types represented in this body. Many a "Gentile" has had an annoying business experience with some greedy Jew. On nothing more stable than that rests the Ford hate of the Children of Israel. Many a Protestant dislikes Catholics. A very great many people are disgusted with the bulk of our recent foreign imports. All these the klan makes a bid for. If it can't interest a man on the ground of one hate, it is able to offer him his choice of a half dozen assorted hates. But it is a mistake to think of these people as wearing hoofs and horns. The rank and file of them are very ordinary men who have not stopped to think through to the eventualities of this movement. One

of them writes me, anonymously, a fair and broad-minded letter which he closes with the remark, "If you have a better way than this to handle our present problems, state it; and there will be many who will follow you."

SACRILEGE

I cannot answer him, directly; for he neglected to furnish me with his address; but—speaking of "problems"—could there be a more serious problem than the predicament into which the klan has plunged us? It matters little whether the Catholic has any ground for his bigotry, the Jew for his greed, the dago for his dirty ignorance: the whole problem resides in the everlasting fact that no ills are cured by hate! This is good gospel. This is the message of the cross. And when a lot of people—regardless of intent—collect around a wooden cross to stampede one another into bitterness against persons who happened to have been born of another race or in another country, it is the very last word in sacrilege.

Rumor has it that large numbers of Fuddlementalists are in it, up to their chins. It would not surprise me to learn that this is true. Oklahoma, which has probably distinguished herself more than any other state as a storm-center of klan activities, happens to be the only state in the union in which the fundamentalist sentiment has been strong enough to dominate the educational policy of the state schools. This "I-know-it-all" and "Disagree-with-me-and-you're-a-crook" policy would be suitable either to fundamentalist or klan. The institutions have a great deal in common. Unless I am a very poor prophet, fundamentalism and the klan will slip out the back way, off the stage, one of these days, hand in hand. When we have arrived at the decision that hating achieves nothing, there will be no room for either of these tendencies. And that time will soon come. Our republic is sufficiently resilient to rebound under hard knocks. The good judgment of the honest, quiet, thoughtful citizenship of this country can be depended upon to leaven this mess. Our country is practically fool-proof. Had it not been, we should have perished, long since, as a nation.

WE LIVE BY FAITH

The fact must be borne in mind that our lives, in America, have become so firmly intermeshed, that a real, permanent hate on the part of one group toward another would be very difficult to sustain. We all live by faith in one another, here. I do not know our cook very well. She just came, last week. We took her on faith. She telephones to the grocer to send us food. She does not know the grocer, even on sight. He sends the stuff to the back door; and the cook, whom we do not know, more than slightly, opens the packages. They merely came through the grocery, having been packed somewhere else, by people whom our grocer did not know. We ask no questions, when we come to the table. Everything is all right, doubtless. Everybody has faith in everybody else, all along the line. Each thinks the other is disposed to do the right thing. A man takes out life insurance with a concern in which he does not know a single executive. This institution has promised to pay, to his estate, a large sum of money after he is in no position to collect the claim. This

is the sort of faith that is threaded through our whole American life. *We must not let that faith break down!* It is no mere adornment! It is the only guarantee we have of the perpetuity of our nation! It is just that serious! Well; how are we to have faith in one another without mutual confidence and trust? And does mutual trust thrive on hate?

Preachers are asking one another, these days, "What are you doing about it?" Many are maintaining a digni-

fied silence because they know there are klansmen in the congregation. They do not care to become embroiled in a racket. It is quite fortunate for us that Jesus Christ was not so sensitive to the discomforts of a racket. The question for us to decide is not: What will it do to me, personally, if I do my bit toward discrediting this thing? The question is: Am I for, or against, a program of organized hate? If I am against it, and keep silent for policy's sake, may God have mercy on my soul!

The Farmer's Predicament

THERE is no doubt about the farmer's predicament. There may be much differing about the remedy. His predicament is not an accident, nor is it a single disaster; its roots are down in the constitution of agricultural economics.

The United States department of agriculture found, in an extensive survey, that \$715 was the average net cash income of the American farmer last year, with interest and taxes to pay out of that. One farmer out of every seven lost on his year's work, and one-half of them made less than one thousand dollars. In North Dakota it cost twice as much to grow wheat as the average grower obtained for the product. In North Carolina the cotton grower made only from eight to thirty-four cents per day on his labor. These last are extreme examples, but when such things happen to thousands of men who are neighbors they make "wild radicals," and when one-half of fifty million hard-working folk are compelled to make ends meet for the family on less than one thousand dollars for a whole year—and when all the members of the family have labored, at that—you may look for some political turnovers.

Land prices doubled between 1910 and 1920, says the census bureau. More than forty per cent of the men who till the soil pay rent to an absentee who owns it, and thirty-seven per cent of those who possess a title pay interest on a mortgage. These mortgages increased from one and three-quarter billions to more than four and one-quarter billions in the past decade, and interest went up also. Taxes have increased and thousands have been unable to pay them without borrowing more money or selling their land. Two million rural dwellers moved into the towns and cities last year. The American Economic Review states that the average of wealth per farmer is only two-thirds that of the average for all Americans, and that his income is less than one-half of the average for the whole population. So long as increased earning power is translated immediately into land values of a speculative kind, there will be agricultural ills.

* * *

Salving Farmer's Wounds No Cure

The political answer has been the tariff, and increased chances to borrow. But it is the necessity of borrowing that is increasing the roughness of the road for the farmer; an increased chance to borrow is no permanent cure. The tariff has proved pure bunco, so far as the farmer is concerned. He exports from all his main crops, and it is as sensible to put a tariff on goods that furnish an excess for export as it would be to lay a tax on rain at flood time. But the tariff becomes very real when laid on the things the farmer buys, so if the tariff makers are flung onto their heads in the next election they will have only themselves to thank.

The cure is not to be found in the salving of the farmer's sores with the current advice that he grow more and buy less of what he eats, or give up the one crop method, or control the packers, or reduce railroad rates—though there is good to be found in all this advice. He could grow more and buy less, but at an expense in many cases to his standards of living. In many sections diversification of crops is a great help, but there are sections where it would reduce him from the categories

of business to that of a peasant gardener. Control of the packers is a symbol of a sort of control that would help the farmer if it took monopoly and speculation out of the commodities he sells, but the limits of legal control are so narrow that it will not reach the roots of the malady. The reduction of freight rates is perhaps his most immediate need. Senator Capper says that farm commodities of one-fifteenth the value pay fifty per cent more freight charge than other commodities, and that Wall street admits that the big railway systems are making three times their dividends. Yet, after two and one-half years of excess rates and a year of great prosperity, any suggestion of freight reduction brings a wail of injury from the railroads. If the railways made no more from hauling the farmer's commodities than he makes growing them, there would be a very sharp cut. So if, at the next election, there is what railroad presidents call "wild radicalism" in relation to railway laws, these presidents can partially blame themselves.

* * *

Economic Cooperation

The fundamental difficulty is that the farmer has drifted on as an individualist. He clings to competition after those he trades with have learned to cooperate. He sells to men who do not bid against one another, and he buys from those who do not cut one another's prices to any marked degree. Buyers and sellers are learning that it pays better to agree with competitors, and both live, than to cut each other's throats. This principle is good, but when confined to limited groups it is, of course, not good for those not in the cooperation. A handful of shearers can round up and take the wool off a great flock of sheep. Cooperation within selling groups enables them all to live, even if the price has to be raised so this end can be attained.

The retail business is at present grossly over-manned. There are too many middlemen. Overhead becomes great, there is waste of energy and margins must be wide to make ends meet. Thus the middleman may not prosper greatly, though he does cost the public greatly. The American farmer is today getting about thirty-seven cents out of every dollar the consumer pays for his produce. The wage earner is getting an average of twelve to fifteen cents out of each dollar the consumer pays for manufactured goods. (Figures in both cases are from government reports.) Between every farmer who produces and every wage earner who consumes stands one middleman to manage and handle the transfer, and the cost of the transfer has doubled in the past decade.

Wallace's Farmer, owned by Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, advises the farmer to cut down acreage until there is a demand for his produce and until there is nothing to export to the starving in Europe. This editor would fairly rave over labor sabotage. His advice, it may be hinted, will not be heeded to any extent. Reports right now are that the sowing of fall wheat is almost normal. The individualist farmer will sow largely if he thinks farmers at large are likely to cut acreage. He can regulate acreage only through organization, and an arrant individualism yields to organization only where profits

are tangible and fairly quick. For this reason, cooperation in selling is appealing to the farmer, and here lies the road to his permanent deliverance—but that subject demands separate consideration.

* * *

Farmer-Labor Cooperation

Now politics flashes two hopes before the knit brow of the agriculturist. One is a farmer's bloc and the other is a farmer-labor combination. The last will fade out with a return of agricultural prosperity. The farmer is bourgeois and thinks more in terms of business than in those of the wage earner. The agricultural press is right now driving the wedge of suspicion between farmer and laborer. Wallace's Farmer tells the agriculturists "organized labor is chiefly interested in using farmers to pull its political chestnuts out of the fire." The Business Farmer declares that while the farmer sold at a loss the "labor unions have demanded the last pound of flesh." The Journal-Stockman reminds the farmer that wages have not come down as have farm prices. The Breeders' Gazette tells him that while he has been producing, "organized labor has adopted a policy of restriction that amounts to sabotage." The Agricultural Review tells him that labor is "autocratic." Common antipathies make a poor union and never a permanent one. The farmer-labor party is a thing of protest and without hope until the farmer comes to believe that high wages mean larger

purchasing power and thus better times for him—and that he does not yet see.

The farmer's bloc will no doubt stop the career of reaction and effect no little political tinkering. It may even compel some wholesome legislation. But blocs incline to run into schisms, and many groups, each trading for its own interest, bring weakness to government. Many European governments are inert today because there are from six to fifteen groups in legislative halls. Mussolini took over the Italian government because there were so many parties that none could govern, and Germany yields to a dictatorship because no government can live unless at least three groups agree. We have been governed by a business bloc for a generation and the farmer bloc is the answer. We may next look for a labor bloc, should the bloc idea prevail. Permanent cure is not guaranteed through dividing political interest between self-contending groups.

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

[Note: Last week Professor Taylor was made to say, speaking of the world court: "That proposition seems, at present, to be backed by a minimum of the Democrats and a maximum of the Republicans, but as both support it the churches can do so also." What he did say was: "That proposition seems at present to be backed as a minimum by the Democrats and a maximum by Republicans, but as both support it," etc.—THE EDITOR.]

British Table Talk

London, October 2, 1923.

THE word "Empire" may stand, but many of us prefer the word "Commonwealth." If the British Commonwealth is an "Empire," it is the first of its kind, and many of the old associations of the word will have to be shed. At the moment, there is a reminder of the true character of the group of nations federated together under the British name. The premiers are in session. They have important decisions to make, but their presence is more significant than anything they can do. They speak of sister nations, bound together chiefly by the invisible bonds of a tradition, and by an ancient memory. If ever, in obedience to the folly of uninspired politicians, these nations should come to rely for their fellowship simply upon common economic or racial interests, then Great Britain and its dominions would be like Nineveh and Tyre. It is simply the spirit that holds them together. The stern, practical, hard-headed man calls this sentiment—but when he is a fool, there is no fool quite so hopeless as the hard-headed man. He is what the scriptures call a "blind mouth." Meanwhile another stage in the history of the Commonwealth was passed yesterday with the transfer of Southern Rhodesia from the chartered company. There is no question that in that part of Africa there is today a great concern for the education and the right development of the African peoples.

* * *

William Winstanley Pearson

"Willie" Pearson, as his friends called him, was killed last week by an accident in Italy. A carriage-door was left unfastened—and a very fine and chivalrous man is missing from his place. He was only forty-three, or thereabout, and he was little known in this country, but in India he was the best beloved of Englishmen. If the Indian nationalists had had to select two men to whom they had given their devotion, they would have chosen C. F. Andrews and Willie Pearson. Both of these men, after a few years of service, severed their official connection with missionary societies and joined Tagore in his school in Bengal. Both of them remained within the Christian faith, but it was their desire to identify themselves with the Indians, to share their hopes, to endure with them their wrongs, and even to look at their faith with the eyes of their adopted people. Pearson and Andrews went to Natal some years ago, when the status of the

Indian settlers was a burning question, and their mission was one of the causes which helped to end a very ugly situation in the Commonwealth. Pearson was a devoted disciple of Tagore; he traveled with him in Japan and in this country and elsewhere. It was with Pearson that I spent a memorable hour in talk with the Bengal poet. The direction of this hero's life was one which could not have been foretold. My first memory of him was in '98, when he was a boy at our schoolboys' camp. Afterwards he studied at Cambridge and at Mansfield college, Oxford. Then came his years in the London mission at Calcutta, a breakdown in health, and afterwards a new beginning with Tagore.

* * *

The Challenge Threatened

The Challenge, a journal to which I have referred more than once, is fighting for life. Before these words are read, it may have ended its career. If that is so, it will have died not for lack of faith, but for lack of pence. We who have had to do with it are not discouraged when we think of the long future, but for the present the outlook is dark. This is the diagnosis which accompanies the last appeal for funds with which to carry on the paper:

"Never was it more necessary that it should be reiterated perpetually in the senate, in the study, and in the market-place that where there is no vision the people perisheth. Never in our time has the clash between the forces of materialism, cynicism and despair and those of religion, humanity and justice been more clear and more crucial. The old "real-politik" of the Prussian had become conspicuous again, a monster rearing many bestial heads in many places. The hopes born of the war have in many quarters faded and given way to the apathy of disillusionment. New wars are talked of in a matter-of-fact way as though they were inevitable, and the brutalized and lazy alike make no effort to imagine the meaning and consequences of these conflicts that are so lightly spoken of. The league of nations, at last in existence after centuries of aspiration, has just suffered a serious blow; there are many, even in this country, who sneer at it as impracticable and even openly demand an end of it. If the continent of Europe be surveyed from Russia to France, the mind contemplates embittered and impoverished peoples, and governments which, as a body, must be pronounced to be, to all seeming, more dominated by the base motives of hatred, fear, greed and

revenge, more free from a tinge of Christian spirit or concern for the general welfare of humanity than any such group of modern times. If we have driven out one devil seven others have returned: there is no shame anywhere now in talking of material self-interest and aggrandisement by force: the aeroplanes are building, the gases are brewing, brigandage is applauded; foresight, statesmanship, a desire to escape the abyss, are regarded by many vociferous and powerful persons in every country as the fads and symptoms of senility and sentimentality. The mailed fist is brandished and fawned upon: in five short years the term 'the allies' has become meaningless, a thing the old connotation and feeling of which it is as difficult to recover as it is to recover the sentiments which used to attach to the word 'Europe' and the word 'Man.' The ideals and dreams of yesterday are sheepish and must slink about out of the sun."

EDWARD SHILLITO.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

World-Wide Prohibition*

INSTEAD of the usual platitudes about "liquor" and "bootlegging," perhaps you would welcome a little light on the drink problem as it appears to an American in London. When you see numerous "wine and spirit" places, thronged with men and women and each with its bar-maid, you can not help but exclaim, "So this is London!" And you feel that it will be a long, long time before Britain goes dry. Here in Whitechapel the drinking places are numerous and crowded. Men and women and young men and young women walk in and out, or sit about drinking. The other night, in the west end, we saw a remarkable number of women in the saloons. They did not appear evil, usually it was a man and his wife slowly sipping glasses of beer, or a young chap and his girl smiling over ale, which perhaps they brought out on the sidewalk to drink. Often several baby carriages stood by the door or young children tagged along with parents. The whole thing seemed social and I must say, I have not yet seen a drunken person—although I have not specialized on publicans and their ways. In Bloomsbury, near Russell square, a very respectable part of town, I saw men and women drinking and eating lunch in saloons. There are thousands of these places and none seems deserted.

In the fine restaurants many women smoke cigarettes, even older women of place and distinction poise cigarettes charmingly (disgustingly!) in their dainty fingers. Tonight I dined in one of the better places. Young girls were smoking and drinking wine. Youthful couples smoked and drank with abandon, while a girl wheeled about a little cart from which she dispensed liquors and tobacco. Older people, including mothers, smoked fiercely. Is this a new found freedom? Is it an effort to prove equality? Is it an effort to escape this frightful European situation after

the war? Is it a sign of degeneracy? Yet the churches seem to be well attended and people, generally, seem decent. How do you account for it? England never has been dry; vested interests are absorbed in brewery and distillery stocks. Naturally a bishop who has his money invested in a distillery is not enthusiastic about prohibition; such an one rather favors personal liberty, I imagine!!

Our party was given a dinner and reception at Lord and Lady Astor's home last week. One member of parliament from Scotland who was present asked me where he could secure reliable facts about the effects of prohibition. He was deeply interested in the idea. He said large areas of Scotland were going dry by the local option route. He was deeply in earnest. English people are very much interested in our story about American prohibition—it is our one news-story!

Unfortunately America seems to have let up on the drive against liquor. If we only knew how we are being watched we might be more careful of our example. America is the light of the world now, America and Britain can lead the world out of this tangle in this day when Europe is dying and her civilization is passing. Now is the hour to bring up the reserves. Now is the hour to make victory complete.

JOHN R. EWERS.

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JOHN DEWEY, probably America's most influential philosopher and educationalist.

Nov. 4. Scripture, Psalm 101:5-8; Prov. 23:29-35.

NEWS OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD

A Department of Interdenominational Acquaintance

Archbishop Soderblom Comes Back to America

Archbishop Nathan Soderblom of Sweden is now in America lecturing in the east. He was here thirty years ago as a theological student. He now returns as the primate of Sweden. His rise in the ecclesiastical world has been phenomenal. While here he will lecture for the Church Peace union and in behalf of Christian unity. His itinerary is said to extend from coast to coast. He is the leader in the projected universal conference on life and work. The archbishop is a distinguished linguist and speaks English fluently.

Throngs Swarm Over Dr. Fosdick's Pulpit

The pessimistic journalists who bewail the decline of the church in New York should visit Dr. Fosdick's church some Sunday. The first week after Dr. Fosdick's return from his vacation, there were 1500 persons present, though the auditorium normally seats only about a thousand. Many of the congregation sat on the pulpit platform. In this sermon Dr. Fosdick discussed the subject of war. "When one takes Jesus in earnest," he said, "he must see that war is the most colossal social sin that we are committing against him; that war is utterly and irremediably un-Christian; that it means everything that Jesus does not mean, and it means nothing that he does mean; that it is a more blatant denial of every Christian ideal of God and man than all the theories atheists could devise. When one takes Jesus in earnest he must see that all these quarrels between fundamentalists and liberals, between high church, broad church and low church, are nothing if Christians do not tackle this supreme moral issue of our time—Christ against war."

Dean Brown Sees no Need of Sunday Movies

"Of this one thing I am sure," said Dean Charles R. Brown of Yale Divinity school, in an address in New Haven, Conn., recently; "when I ride through the streets of our cities and towns, or when I scan the amusement columns of the daily papers, this amusement-loving age of ours does not seem to be in such sore need of more moving picture shows that the Christian church should go into the moving picture business in order to meet any such alleged need. Six days the movies labor and do their work—the seventh is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it, let them rest if they will, that their man servants and their maid servants also may rest; and because the people get enough of the movies during the other six days, let us undertake to give them something better on Sundays."

Dr. Hough's Growing Ministry in Detroit

Central Methodist church of Detroit is the oldest Protestant church in Michigan. It was organized in 1810 and incorporated

in 1822. It has just concluded what is in many respects the most successful year of its history. Dr. Lynn Harold Hough, the pastor, is just entering upon the fourth year of his ministry in this church. The

officials of the church have entered into a definite understanding with Dr. Hough that he will continue its pastor for five years more. Plans are being made for the development and extension of the activi-

Congregationalists Analyze Statistics

ON his first arrival in Springfield, Mass., for the sessions of the national council of Congregational churches, the delegate was given a copy of the "Grey book" which corresponds to the "Blue book" of the Presbyterian assembly. In the Grey book are reports of various commissions, and a resume of the statistics of the denomination. Among Congregationalists there is evident an honest facing of facts with regard to conditions in the denomination which is refreshing. And when the figures are brought together, they are interpreted. It is the lack of interpretation which makes much of the statistical work of the denominational organizations a futile service. The following paragraphs from the Grey book give an idea of the tendencies in the denomination:

"There were more additions to the churches by 12,902 than in any previous biennium of our history, the record being 151,395 as compared with 138,493 in 1914-15. There were more additions on confession of faith by 4,797, the number being 90,050 as compared with 85,253 in 1915-16. The net gain in membership exceeds that of any biennium except that of '94 and '95, when the net gain was larger only because of the small revision of roll, namely 19,790 contrasted with 52,789. The exception to the record points to a weakness of our church life today, since such 'revision' stands for spiritual deaths, which outnumber the natural deaths by two and a half to one, the year-book showing deaths as 19,738 and revision of roll 52,789.

"It is a significant fact that while 40,247 letters of transfer were granted 61,345 were received. We seem to receive fifty per cent more letters than we grant. Does this mean that we are parasitic to that extent, depending upon other denominations to win recruits to the kingdom and enlarging our numbers from their ranks?

"We are still a fellowship of small churches. Of the 5,826 churches 4,866, or 83 per cent, have 250 or fewer members. Approximately 60 per cent have 100 members or less, and nearly 40 per cent have 50 members or less, while but 349 churches have over 500 members and 63 over 1,000. With 5,826 churches there are reported 3,905 pastoral units. 1,199 churches reported vacant pulpits; 1,277 are yoked, a pastor serving more than one church; 245 are served by licentiates, and 125 are otherwise supplied.

"The best news with regard to the ministry is doubtless the showing in the salary column. Roughly speaking, the home missionary society regards a

salary of less than \$1,500 as a non-living wage, even in the case of those who have free use of parsonage. It is a situation sufficiently serious therefore to demand thought and prayer to discover that 41 per cent of our ministers receive less than this amount, and 15 per cent of them receive less than \$1,000. The encouragement is found in the comparisons. Forty-one per cent in 1922 corresponds with 51 per cent in 1920 under the \$1,500 mark and the 15 per cent under \$1,000 corresponds with 23 per cent two years earlier. . . . The average salary in 1922 is reported as \$1,778 compared with \$1,600 two years previous, and with \$1,440 four years ago, or 23.4 per cent increase in four years. The total paid to pastors in 1914 was \$4,544,972, as compared with \$6,943,541 in 1922, showing an increase of 52.8 per cent since pre-war days. Yet the change in money values means that what the pastors receive today is hardly equal in purchasing power to what they received before the war, leaving us the same problems of inadequate salaries we faced in 1914.

"The number of parsonages is reported at 3,193, or 712 fewer than the number of pastoral units.

"The number of ministers is shown to be 5,620, the smallest in twenty-two years. Of these 3,303 are reported as serving churches and 2,317 without charge. Why so many ministers without churches? One hundred and twenty are filling denominational administrative positions; 98 others fill non-denominational administrative positions; 81 are in other distinctively religious work; 241 are in educational work. There are 20 editors, 8 lecturers, 129 in business and professions. Of the remaining 1,620 probably 1,000 are retired on account of age or other disabilities, leaving 620 unaccounted for.

"A study of the table reveals the following: In 1922, 95 were ordained against 140 deaths; in seven years 716 were ordained and 951 died, showing a balance on the wrong side of 235 or 34 per year, while in the fifteen years preceding, 1,808 were ordained against 1,528 deaths, a surplus of 180 or 12 per year. The present record of falling off in ordinations means that we have been turning to other denominations to supply us with our ministers. A mixture of blood, in religious service is desirable. It is, however, good for a denomination that it should supply to others as many ministers as it receives from others. We have more than five hundred ministers serving our churches who do not have Congregational standing."

ties of what is already one of the most many sided institutional churches in the denomination. Under the pressure of pastoral and literary work, Dr. Hough resigned from the delegation of the Detroit annual conference to the general conference to be held in Springfield next May, to which he was elected on the first ballot. He has accepted an invitation to occupy the Fernley lectureship of the Wesleyan Methodist church in England in 1925. His subject will be "Evangelical Humanism." For over a year Central church has been broadcasting one service each Sunday through the courtesy of the WCX broadcasting station of the Detroit Free Press and so, from the pulpit of his church, a large invisible congregation is addressed, ranging out over the middle west, the east and the south of the United States.

Baptists Refuse Ordination

The Long Island Baptist association recently refused to ordain a man who said

he did not know whether the story of the virgin birth was history or not. The vote in the association was 24 to 23. Meanwhile the young man continues to act as assistant to Rev. E. Leroy Dakin. Another council will be held in the autumn at which time the young man will be questioned further with regard to his views. The moderator of the council is known as one of the pronounced fundamentalists of the east.

Bishop Manning Does Not Fear Evolution

A great company of ecclesiastics were present at the consecration of Dr. James E. Freeman as bishop of Washington recently. A sermon was delivered by Bishop Manning of New York. In this sermon the bishop made reference to the controversy between modernists and fundamentalists, declaring that this controversy had no footing in the Episcopal church. He said: "We must make it clear to all who will heed that the truth revealed in

Describes Quake Horror

IT has taken a month for intimate and detailed accounts of the Japanese earthquake to reach this country. While certain cabled reports indicated the measure of property loss suffered by the missions, it is only now that missionaries have an opportunity to tell us of the horrible experiences through which they have gone. Noteworthy is the account sent by Rev. Earl R. Bull, a Methodist missionary of Tokio. He says:

"You know by the cables what has happened to the 'land of flowers.' I have been for days in this city which has quaked for a whole week. Last night I wondered whether I had not better go out and sleep under the sky; dew to cover me was better than plaster and beams, I thought. When I came to this city it was under military control. I was searched or challenged over one hundred times by soldiers, policemen, or guards from the wards. Many houses had turned turtle, thousands of families rushing from this capital as they once rushed from burning Rome. The flames had left the black skeletons of buildings against the sky, the ruins of Fords, the wheels of long street cars with only the iron remaining, the ruin of another Pompeii.

"Today thousands of bodies are piled up, mountain high, in Honje District. They float about on the rivers of Fuku-gawa district. Yesterday our searchers saw scores of bodies on the waterfront of Yokohama where they have lain since last Saturday. How many gone? I cannot tell. No one knows. The estimate by Japanese papers is 150,000 killed here, 20,000 in Yokohama, and 150,000 seriously injured. I cannot use figures, but the word 'awful' is weak. Yesterday, as I walked (for no car will run for months), for miles across the field of another Flanders I stepped a thousand times on copper wires (once safe above), which a week ago would have killed me. On I walked past the American embassy, which was located only by a few brick pillars up Cinza, the Fifth avenue of this city, and

saw for miles only ruins. Yesterday I saw at the American embassy the list to date of the Americans killed, and of the fifty, only two were from this city. The only missionary known to be dead is Miss Jennie Kyper of Hope, Michigan. She fell under her school.

"The experiences of many would turn your hair white. Miss Dickinson of Yokohama was found after four hours under her roof. Miss Seeds of Delaware lost about all. Miss Thurston of New England lost all. We lost something, but nothing as compared to the natives. Tokyo will have to be rebuilt by men of other cities. The insurance cannot be collected, for it was an act of God, so called! The banks hope to pay something soon. The mass of them may open, but some cannot. The house of Miss Louise Bangs of Lansing, Michigan, is in large part down, and it has been looted. The Methodist Episcopal churches' losses alone will reach \$600,000."

SERMON AIDS

A discriminating use of poetry is a mark of the modern preacher. A poem has power to illuminate when other illustrative material would fail. Thousands of ministers have purchased, during the past year, Caroline M. Hill's great treasury of religious verse, "The World's Great Religious Poetry," and many of them for the reason that it affords a wealth of illustrative material.

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individual members to fall in line with the majority of their brethren rather than bear the onus of disrupting the church and perpetuating needless divisions. Unless this principle is conceded organized democracy in either church or state becomes impossible. But even if at last there must be the withdrawal of some who cannot accept union, we all recognize that in the meantime the church's work must be carried on efficiently and no ground lost. The noble servants of our church whom we have sent to hold up the banner of the cross in the home and foreign fields cannot be deserted because of any difference of judgment on the question of church union. In maintaining and reinforcing the missionary effort of the church all can stand together."

Methodist Conferences Go Democratic

The Methodist conferences over the country are very disconcerting to the ecclesiastical politicians. They are going democratic. The Rock river conference, one of the largest in the denomination, voted in favor of the election of district superintendents by a two-thirds vote of the conference and for an eight year term for bishops. At this conference the pastors openly denounced some plans for a financial campaign, insisting that the time had come when such plans should be formulated democratically rather than being handed down from above. In the Indiana conferences there has been some talk about heresy in the

conference course of study, but nothing has been done about it. The district superintendent is bearing the brunt of an attack and he is being passed up in many conferences when delegates to general conference are selected, the choice being for active pastors.

Three Hundred Pastors Go Into Retreat

Three hundred pastors of Cleveland recently motored to the country home of Mr. and Mrs. Fred W. Ramsey, of Gates Mill, O., to hold a retreat. Rev. John Kelman of New York delivered two addresses to the ministers and in both addresses he stressed the evangelical note. The Cleveland churches have a program of personal evangelism for this autumn which it is thought will bring large accessions to the membership of the churches. The city is noted for its strong churches and for its spirit of co-operation in religious work.

Son Takes Father's Pulpit

Rev. Charles Halley Beale has resigned as pastor of Grand Avenue Congregational church, of Milwaukee, and the pulpit committee after looking the country over decided to call Dr. Beale's son, Rev. Arthur Stanley Beale, now pastor at Laconia, N. H. Dr. Beale has been pastor in Milwaukee for twenty years and has built up a church with 100 members. He is president of the associated charities of the city and a member of the leading clubs. He will go to

Boston and from this point enter a career of supply preaching and lecturing.

Ministers Support the Klan

In various parts of the country are reports of ministers leaving their pulpits to enter the service of the Ku Klux Klan. It has been stated by klan leaders that only one of these is a university-trained man. Recently a klan meeting was held at Fourth Christian church of St. Louis. In this meeting Rev. Charles D. McGehee, pastor of Haven Street Methodist church was presented with a check by members of the order after he had announced that he would leave the ministry to expound klan principles. The pastor of the Christian church is Rev. C. C. Crawford. The Detroit conference of the Methodist church is the first conference to take specific action against the klan. This conference passed the following resolution: "Resolved, That the members of the Detroit conference affirm their unflinching loyalty to the use of constitutional and legal methods in dealing with all our national problems, and urge all our people to abstain from membership in any organization which would substitute lawless methods for the appeal to the court and the ballot."

Social Service Directory for Chicago

Chicago now has a social service directory in which over two thousand organizations are listed. Many of the settlements and societies are under direct or indirect

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control of the churches of the city. In addition to the voluntary organizations, the various city, county, state and national organizations that respond to appeals for aid are listed. The book is published privately but is offered for sale to the public. Among the interesting features of the volume is a digest of the laws which affect social work in the city.

Poet Gives Local Church a Slogan

Churches have a variety of slogans throughout the land, many of which are worn threadbare with use. The poet, Thomas Curtis Clark, has given the Disciples church of Lafayette, Ind., a slogan. It is now called "The Church with the Human Touch." Mr. Clark, as some of our readers know, has a poem called "The Touch of Human Hands," which ends with the words:

"The touch of human hands—
Such care as was in Him
Who walked in Galilee
Beside the silver sea;
We need a patient guide
Who understands,
And the warmth, the loving warmth
Of human hands."

Marion Lawrance Wants Sunday School Libraries

The old-time Sunday school library was made up of books quite as shoddy as the ordinary present-day Sunday school song book is. Hence it passed away. Marion Lawrance, veteran of the Sunday school movement, recently gave an interview to the

children's book week committee in which he advocated a return of the Sunday school library in some communities. Where the public library exists, he proposes that the churches offer a list of the very best books to the library authorities, and ask for their purchase. In some instances, Sunday schools should purchase books to add to the library. Where there is no public library, Mr. Lawrance feels that the Sunday school might very well take up its former function of supplying books to children, provided choice was made of the better books now available. He mentions a manual on radio and a life of Frances Willard as typical of the sort of books which he would like to see Sunday schools circulate. Others have suggested that the Sunday school should possess its own library of reference works for its teachers, and its own library of pedagogical methods.

How a Minister Defends Preparedness

Probably most of the ministers in this country are at this time saying a word in behalf of "law, not war." But the preparedness advocates number among them a few ministers, most of whom have been army chaplains. It is interesting to hear a minister of the gospel defending war-like preparations. Rev. Herbert Spencer Johnson at a recent meeting of the Philadelphia federation of churches said: "But however much I regret to do so, I am compelled to reject pacifism because its alluring promises are impossible of fulfillment. It confuses the issues as to war, offering alternatives to

the American people which do not in fact exist. The real issue is not between war and peace. It is between war with preparedness and war without preparedness. The real issue is not between foolish and wasteful expenditures of money for war as against wise and noble expenditures for the purpose of peace. It is between hugely wasteful expenditures for the waging of war as against scientific and economical expenditures for the same purpose."

Milwaukee Federation Will Give Prisoners Books

It is a curious fact that many prisons of the country have little or nothing in the way of elevating reading matter for prisoners. In Milwaukee, the federation of churches will soon remove this reproach. It is seeking a good collection of books which will be put at the disposal of the prisoners in the city. Mrs. Fred R. Lufkin has been holding religious services in the jail on Sunday afternoons.

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From an editorial in The Christian Century.]

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William Z. Foster, leader of the Progressive Labor Movement, and many other active Labor Men have been arrested by Burns-Daugherty agents and charged with violation of the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism Law, and are to be re-tried, it is announced by the prosecution.

They face long prison terms solely because they hold certain beliefs and because of their activity in the labor movement.

Their prosecution is part and parcel of the nation-wide open shop drive, of the widespread and brutal attack on labor and free speech.

Read These Ringing Resolutions From Men Who Know

"... Whereas, the arrest of William Z. Foster and Earl Browder, members in good standing in recognized trade unions of Chicago, is an outrage and disgrace to every real American. Therefore be it

"Resolved, by the Chicago Federation of Labor that we protest against these unlawful practices and declare our fullest confidence in these men both as union men and peaceful citizens."

From the Resolution passed unanimously by the Chicago Federation of Labor.

"... Resolved, That the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council protest against these persecutions, and that it urges all friends of fair play to come to the assistance of brother Foster, morally as well as financially, so that he may properly defend himself against the trumped up charges and that again be in position to combat these sinister forces effectively."

From the Resolution passed unanimously by the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council.

The Michigan Criminal Syndicalism Law is:

"A standing menace against free speech, free press and freedom of assemblage; it is class legislation of the most vicious type.

"Its provisions are vague and ambiguous thus lending themselves to interpretation which might be extremely dangerous to the organized labor movement in particular."

From the Resolution passed by the Michigan Federation of Labor, Sept., 1923.

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Today we have a situation to face, which is fraught with great danger. The enemies of labor and free speech are anxious to convict these men whether guilty or innocent to silence all those who are working for the betterment of society.

We have to fight for right and justice! And as a result of the experience of last year we know how to fight for the defense of labor and true Americanism better than we did before. Last year we won a partial victory. We prevented the conviction of Foster, but they were successful in securing a conviction of Ruthenberg whose "crime" was that he held certain convictions that he believed would make the world better.

Now is the opportune time for the lovers of justice and liberty to gain a complete victory. By winning this case which has assumed national importance we can win a tremendous advantage for the American institutions of free speech, free press and freedom of assembly. The liberal press is a unit for us. We believe the readers of The Christian Century all want justice done and every citizen to have a fair trial.

Who among the Christian Century readers will not sympathize with us? We appeal to you with confidence that you will help supply the money and the power with which the defense can go forward to complete victory.

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Enclosed you will find \$.....as my contribution to the defense fund to insure a fair trial for the men and women prosecuted under the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism Law.

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C. C. 10-25-23



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